

A Cultural Anthropological Overview of the
Nibrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways
BY Beth R. Ritter, Robert K. Hitchcock,
Michelle L. Watson, Michele Voeltz,
Rebecca Hautzinger, Judith Campbell Miller,
Michele Moray, Leonard R. Bruguier, and
Gloria Rial

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NIOBRARA/MISSOURI NATIONAL SCENIC RIVERWAYS

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Beth R. Ritter, Robert K. Hitchcock,
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Thomas D. Thiessen

INTRODUCTION

This document is a cultural anthropological overview and assessment of the Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways (NIMI). It represents the first formal planning step taken by the National Park Service (NPS) to identify the different ethnic and religious groups of people that have historical and/or contemporary ties to the NIMI region. It primarily focuses on American Indian groups that used the NIMI region for various purposes in past historical times. The discussion of American Indian peoples emphasizes the three Federally-recognized tribes that reside in the NIMI region today, the Poncas, Santee Sioux, and Yankton Sioux. Other groups that used the NIMI region for various purposes in the past, such as hunting, residence, or warfare, are also discussed, but to a lesser extent because they no longer are present in the NIMI region as organized tribal groups. The three tribes resident in the region today are, in a very real sense, neighbors to NIMI and for that reason receive more in-depth discussion.

The overview and assessment also summarizes information about non-native peoples who resided in and near NIMI in the recent past, some of whom continue to live in the area today as organized social or ethnic groups, such as the Hutterites at the Bon Homme Bruderhof. Consequently, this document surveys Hutterites, Mormons, African Americans, Germans from Russia, Czechs, Scandinavians, and other immigrants who settled in the region during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

This overview and assessment summarizes the present state of knowledge about each of these groups, including their history, lifestyle, and religious beliefs, and recommends further studies that may be desirable to complement and fill important gaps in this knowledge. Most of the information presented in this volume is drawn from published sources, though some of it comes from unpublished records and interviews with members of these groups, particularly the three Native American tribes that reside in the region today.

The purpose of this overview and assessment is to provide the NPS with knowledge of the special circumstances and concerns of these various groups, so that informed and culturally-sensitive decisions can be made when NPS affairs affect their existing or potential interests. The objective of the NPS is to be a good neighbor to all of these people, by managing its

responsibilities for NIMI in a way that takes into consideration how its operations may affect, positively or negatively, these groups, along with other members of the public at large. Consequently, information presented in this overview and assessment should help NPS establish and maintain a long term positive relationship with American Indian and other organized ethnic/religious groups in and near NIMI, with the result that the interests of these groups will be fully considered in the NPS decision-making process.

This study complements two other cultural resource studies conducted by the NPS for NIMI: 1) the compilation of archeological resource data for the region by the Midwest Archeological Center (in progress; Vawser and Osborn n.d.), and 2) the review of the region's historical themes and cultural landscapes completed by the Midwest Regional Office in 1994 (Franklin et al. 1994). The cultural anthropological overview and assessment, of course, deals less with historical events and physical remains of past life than it does with the description of ethnic lifestyles and religious beliefs that persist in the NIMI region today.

NIOBRARA/MISSOURI NATIONAL SCENIC RIVERWAYS

The Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways is one of the newest additions to the National Park System units administered by the Midwest Region of the National Park Service. Its authorizing legislation was passed in 1968, 1978, and 1991.

In 1968, the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (82 Stat. 906; 16 U.S.C. 1274 et seq.) established a national policy of preserving and protecting rivers which possess important scenic, recreational, and other values. The act designated certain rivers as wild, scenic, or recreational rivers, and also identified other rivers as potential future additions to the wild and scenic river system. By subsequent amendments, additional rivers not identified in the 1968 act were also designated as components of the system or as subjects of study to determine their eligibility for the system.

In 1978, an amendment of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (92 Stat. 3467; Public Law 95-625) designated the Missouri River reach from Gavins Point Dam to Ponca State Park as a recreational river, later named the Missouri National Recreation River.

In 1991, the Niobrara Scenic River Designation Act (105 Stat. 254; Public Law 102-50) further designated portions of the Missouri and Niobrara rivers, and part of Verdigre Creek as well, as existing or potential scenic or recreational rivers. The act also directed study of certain lands along the Niobrara and Missouri rivers as a potential national park and a potential national recreation area.

Consequently, the following river segments and areas are presently being studied by the NPS under the 1978 and 1991 legislation (see Figure 1-1):

1. *The Missouri and Niobrara National Recreational Rivers.* The former includes both the reach of river designated in 1978 from Gavins Point Dam to Ponca State Park (59 miles) and that designated in 1991 between Fort Randall Dam and the headwaters of Lewis and Clark Lake (39 miles). The latter also includes the 25-mile segment of the Niobrara from the western edge of Knox County eastward to its confluence with the Missouri, including Verdigre Creek from its confluence with the Niobrara to the northern edge of the town of Verdigre. The 1991 designation is contiguous with the Missouri River boundary of the Yankton Sioux reservation.

2. *The Missouri national recreation area study* (designated 1991), comprises a feasibility study of lands in Knox and Boyd counties, Nebraska, adjacent to the Missouri National Recreational River (no. 1 above), as well as lands adjacent to Lewis and Clark Lake, as a potential national recreation area. In addition to the Missouri River from Fort Randall Dam to Gavins Point Dam, this study also includes the Niobrara River reaching from the western boundary of Knox County east to the Niobrara/Missouri confluence (25 miles) and Verdigre Creek from the Niobrara/Verdigre confluence to the north edge of the town of Verdigre (8 miles). The authorizing legislation stipulates that this study will be conducted in consultation with the Santee Sioux Tribe, part of whose reservation lies within the study area, among other state and local political entities. The study area also includes part of the Yankton Sioux reservation.

3. *The Niobrara National Scenic River* (designated 1991), reaching from Borman Bridge east to the mouth of Chimney Creek (40 miles) and from the mouth of Rock Creek east to the Highway 137 bridge (30 miles). Separating these two reaches of the Niobrara River is no. 4 below.

4. *The Niobrara 6-mile segment scenic or recreational river study area* (designated 1991), consisting of the Niobrara River from the mouth of Chimney Creek east to the mouth of Rock Creek (6 miles). The 1991 act stipulated that if this river segment, which was studied several years ago by the Bureau of Reclamation as a potential site for the Norden Dam, is not selected or funded for a water resources project (i.e., the construction of the Norden Dam) within five years of the date of the 1991 law (i.e., by May 24, 1996), it would automatically be designated as part of the Niobrara component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System.

5. *The Niobrara national park study area* (designated 1991), encompassing a block of land straddling the Niobrara River from

139 the eastern boundary of Ft. Niobrara National Wildlife Refuge
140 eastward to near the mouth of Rock Creek, north of the river, and
141 to the mouth of Plum Creek on the south.

142 Collectively, the several designated river reaches,
143 potential national recreation area, and potential national park
144 are administered by the National Park Service as the
145 *Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways* (NIMI). Immediate
146 management of NIMI is provided by a National Park Service
147 superintendent and staff headquartered in O'Neill, Nebraska,
148 under the direction of the Regional Director of the Midwest
149 Region, Omaha, Nebraska.

150 The NPS is charged with administering NIMI and performing
151 several kinds of planning studies on the individual components of
152 NIMI as described above, including the formulation of General
153 Management Plans (GMP) to direct future development and
154 management of the national national recreational or scenic
155 rivers, as well as Special Resource Studies (SRS) to determine
156 the eligibility of the several areas studied for national scenic
157 or recreational river status, national recreation area status, or
158 national park status. Each of the GMP planning studies is to be
159 accompanied by development of an Environmental Impact Statement
160 (EIS), and the SRS planning studies by an Environmental
161 Assessment (EA). These several planning studies, and the lead
162 offices responsible for them (DSC=Denver Service Center;
163 NIMI=park staff), are outlined below.

164	Component	GMP/EIS	SRS/EA	Lead office
165	Mo. Natl.			
166	Recreational			
167	River (1978			
168	designation)	Update	--	DSC
169	Mo./Nio. Natl.			
170	Recreational			
171	Rivers (1991			
172	designation)	New	--	DSC
173	Mo. R. natl.			
174	recreation			
175	area study	--	New	DSC
176	Nio. Natl.			
177	Scenic River	GMP	--	NIMI
178	Nio. 6-mile			
179	scenic or rec.			
180	river study	--	New	NIMI
181	Nio. natl.			

183 At the present time, no land has been acquired by the
184 Federal government as part of any component of NIMI. Nor have
185 boundaries been drawn to guide future land acquisition or other
186 aspects of NIMI administration. The studies listed above, which
187 are underway at present, may result in recommendations for
188 boundaries and may identify alternatives for managing the various
189 components of NIMI.

190 The overview and assessment has collected and documented
191 information on the historical occupation of NIMI by American
192 Indians and other ethnic and religious groups. For the purposes
193 of this study, an ethnographic resource is defined as any natural
194 or cultural resource, landscape, or natural feature which is
195 linked by a subject community to the traditional practices,
196 values, beliefs, history, and/or ethnic identity of that
197 community. It has been the purpose of this research to identify
198 American Indian and other ethnic/religious groups who live or
199 once lived in the NIMI region as well as known ethnographic
200 resources within the above defined study area. The information
201 resulting from this research effort will in the future form the
202 basis for beginning to develop an ethnographic data base which
203 will be used to fully consider impacts to Indian tribes and other
204 peoples and ethnographic resources, which may result from
205 proposed actions at NIMI. Information resulting from this
206 research is available to NPS planners and management officials as
207 well as Indian tribes and other peoples studied as part of this
208 effort, with appropriate restriction of sensitive or confidential
209 information concerning religious beliefs, sacred areas, and the
210 identities of persons who contribute information to the research.
211 Section 4020 of the National Historic Preservation Act Amendments
212 of 1992 directs denial of public access to information about the
213 location, character, or ownership of historic resources if such
214 disclosure may 1) cause a significant invasion of privacy; 2)
215 risk harm to the resources; or 3) impede the use of a traditional
216 religious site by practitioners of the relevant religion.

217 CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

218 Typically, a cultural anthropological overview and
219 assessment is one of the first anthropological studies programmed
220 during early stages of planning to review and analyze accessible
221 archival and documentary information about people and resources
222 that are traditionally associated with parks (National Park
223 Service 1994:25, 174). The overview and assessment study
224 constitutes a comprehensive synthesis of available information
225 concerning American Indian and other ethnic/religious groups and
226 associated ethnographic resources in the study area, and
227 evaluates previous historical and cultural anthropological
228 research relative to them. The study also serves as the baseline

229 for determining the need for additional studies. Information is
230 derived primarily from published and unpublished literature, and
231 to a lesser extent from unpublished archival materials and
232 personal interviews.

233 This research was performed in accordance with the authority
234 and requirements of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (P.L. 74-292),
235 the Native American Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (P.L. 95-342),
236 the Archeological Resource Protection Act of 1979, as amended
237 (P.L. 96-95), the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as
238 amended in 1980 (P.L. 96-515), the National Historic Preservation
239 Act Amendments of 1992, and the National Park Service Cultural
240 Resources Management Guideline (NPS-28).

241 Management of cultural and natural resources in an
242 efficient, culturally informed manner, requires the gathering and
243 analysis of cultural anthropological data focusing on
244 contemporary American Indians and others with traditional ties to
245 the land in the study area. The information will help managers
246 evaluate requests for access to resources as well as to identify
247 geographical features of sacred or cultural importance that may
248 require special treatment or protection. Cultural
249 anthropological information also allows an informed assessment of
250 the potential impacts to culturally-important natural resources
251 arising from planning and development activities, as well as the
252 effect of specific cultural uses of natural resources by
253 contemporary cultural groups. These data will also eventually
254 contribute to the development of an Ethnographic Resource
255 Inventory (ERI) of the sites, structures, objects, and natural
256 features valued by peoples traditionally associated with park
257 lands.

258 The cultural anthropological overview and assessment is
259 based primarily on review and analysis of information in
260 published and unpublished literature, and to a more limited
261 extent on consultation with organized American Indian and other
262 cultural groups. Emphasis is placed on specific cultural groups
263 with both long-term and presently active associations with lands
264 within the study area, particularly those peoples who reside in
265 the NIMI region as organized cultural or religious groups, and
266 the cultural and natural resources to which these groups have
267 ascribed cultural value (i.e., religious, legendary, subsistence
268 values, etc.). American Indian tribes that have an historic or
269 contemporary association with the study area have been the
270 primary emphasis of the study due to limitations of time and
271 funding, but NIMI-associated religious or ethnic groups of
272 ultimate Euroamerican origin have also been identified and
273 studied to a lesser extent. Contemporary residents of the study
274 area with socio-economic ties to the region, such as ranchers,
275 farmers, and merchants, were not subjects of the study except
276 insofar as they may also belong to one or more traditional ethnic
277 or religious groups with historical ties to the study area, for

example, the Hutterites in the Bon Homme Colony who are both farmers and members of a highly organized religious sect. The focus of the study has been on NIMI-associated peoples or groups that practice aspects of traditional cultures and religions, and not those with primarily economic or familial ties to the region.

STUDY OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The overview study was initiated in the spring of 1993. A scope-of-work to guide the study was drafted and sent to the park, Denver Service Center, and the Midwest Regional Office in early March for review. Review comments were also requested from the tribal governments of the three American Indian tribes resident in the NIMI region. No replies were received from the tribes, but comments were received from the Denver Service Center and the scope-of-work was finalized in May.

The overall objective of this study is the gathering of cultural anthropological information about the NIMI study area to aid in the development of planning documents which can be used by NPS managers. This information will be used as future input into planning and environmental assessment work, as well as in making other management decisions that affect, or potentially affect cultural and natural resources.

The initial objectives of this study were to:

- 1) document the relationships of protohistoric, early historic, and present-day American Indians and other contemporary cultural groups to NIMI;
- 2) identify and document the past and present uses of the NIMI study area by NIMI-associated cultural groups;
- 3) identify and document, on the basis of available published and unpublished literature and written records, known ethnographic resources in and near NIMI;
- 4) where feasible, document the physical boundaries of NIMI ethnographic resources on topographic base maps for inclusion in the Geographic Information System (GIS) data set;
- 5) identify and review historic, current, or anticipated treaties, agreements, legislation, or special use permits relating to any specific American Indian and other ethnic groups with strong historical and/or contemporary ties to the NIMI area;
- 6) identify, by means of an annotated bibliography, selected sources that will provide management with cultural anthropological information on peoples historically or contemporaneously associated with NIMI; and

7) recommend further studies about NIMI-associated peoples and ethnographic resources, including suggestions from traditional cultures for resource management and definition of access needs for traditional, ceremonial, or subsistence use of study area resources.

Four products were planned at the outset of this study: 1) the cultural anthropological overview and assessment report; 2) a non-technical summary of the overview and assessment; 3) an annotated bibliography of selected sources of information on NIMI-related groups; and 4) basemaps documenting the locations of ethnographic resources.

Ultimately, it did not prove possible to meet all of the above goals, for several reasons. The scope of the undertaking was ambitious and was not possible to achieve with the limited available funding. Project funds were exhausted shortly after completion of the consultation phase of the work (in early 1994). Despite augmentation by limited other funds supplied by the Midwest Archeological Center, the appointments of two key researchers (Ritter and Hitchcock--see "Project Personnel" section below) were terminated in the summer of 1994 because of the ultimate lack of funds. On July 27, 1993, Thomas Thiessen was designated the Acting Regional Ethnographer for the Midwest Region, and duties relating to ethnography program responsibilities and compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) took up most of his time from that date. Consequently, the project's three key research and coordination personnel made only slight progress with the project in the latter half of 1994 and early 1995. In the Spring of 1995, a small amount of funding was provided to complete the overview and assessment report. The non-technical summary, the annotated bibliography, and the basemaps were not developed for lack of funding and time.

Despite the fact that the project was curtailed for fiscal reasons, considerable progress was made toward accomplishing several of the initial objectives of the study. The relationships of American Indian tribes and European immigrant groups with the NIMI region are explained in the several ethnographic summaries that appear in this volume, as well as the general uses that such groups made of the NIMI area. Information about known ethnographic resources was gathered from written documents and is summarized in Chapter 28, though much useful information about ethnographic places remains to be gathered through future field studies. It has not been feasible to document the physical boundaries of ethnographic resources in the NIMI study area because little usable information about this is available at present. The review of treaties, legislation, and the like is accomplished in Chapter 2 (the legislative background) and Chapter 29 (the overview of American Indian policy of the U.S. government), and Appendix II contains copies

of relevant treaties and agreements. It has not been possible to develop an annotated bibliography of sources; however, each chapter contains a "References Cited" section and the chapter texts often provide some commentary about particularly important sources. And lastly, recommendations for further studies and other actions are offered in Chapter 31.

With respect to ethnographic places in and near the study area, much information--particularly precise locations--is often not available in written documents. In such cases, information on the general location of important regions or areas has been presented to the extent possible in the tables included in Chapter 28.

The study involved limited consultations with Indian tribes and individuals to elicit oral information about tribal concerns with respect to land and other resources. NIMI staff were advised in advance of all meetings with tribal governments and governmental officials, though the confidentiality of interviews was preserved when appropriate. This was for the purpose of having an official representative of NIMI on hand to answer questions that interviewees may have about the status of NPS planning for the study area, as well as to keep NIMI personnel informed of contacts that project personnel had with NIMI-associated groups.

These consultations were carried out by Beth R. Ritter between August, 1993, and February, 1994. She met with the tribal government representatives of the Poncas on August 2, September 3 (1993), and January 31-February 1 (1994); the Santees on August 2 and 20, September 2-3 and 22 and 24 (1993), January 31-February 1, and February 14 (1994); and the Yanktons on September 24 (1993) and February 4 (1994). The Interim Council of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska gave written permission on August 10, 1993, for NIMI overview research to proceed among tribal members, and the Santee Sioux Tribal Council granted written permission on August 9, 1993, for tribal members to be interviewed on a voluntary basis. The first formal contact with the full Yankton Sioux Business and Claims Council did not take place until February 4, 1994, as council elections had taken place the preceding Fall and many of the council members were unseated; Ms. Ritter was advised to wait until the new council members had had time to become acquainted with tribal issues before approaching them about the NIMI overview project.

In addition to Ms. Ritter's visits to the three American Indian tribes resident in the NIMI region, research assistant Michelle L. Watson visited Verdigre, Niobrara, and vicinity on August 12-13, 1993, to familiarize herself with the locality and historic architecture associated with immigrant ethnic and religious groups who settled in the area, principally Czechs. She was accompanied by Dr. Mila Saskova-Pierce of the Department of

416 Modern languages, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

417 THE STUDY AREA

418 Although the major focus of this overview and assessment
419 study is on the total NIMI area, it has been necessary in some
420 instances to present information relating to areas outside NIMI
421 in order to provide a broader cultural context for understanding
422 traditional cultural peoples and properties that are within or
423 very close to NIMI. After all, the cultural and religious groups
424 that have a strong historical or contemporary association with
425 NIMI proper also are a part of the cultural history of a much
426 larger region surrounding NIMI. It is possible that
427 ethnographically significant locales and physiographic features
428 exist near but outside any eventual NIMI boundaries which may
429 affect, or be affected by, proposed management actions and
430 decisions identified in NPS plans for NIMI.

431 The 1978 and 1991 legislative authorizations do not specify
432 boundaries for NIMI, but leave such boundaries to be recommended
433 as a result of the planning studies to be carried out by NPS.
434 However, for the purposes of the several NPS planning studies
435 that are underway for NIMI, an interim boundary of one-quarter
436 mile back from the high water mark of the Missouri and Niobrara
437 rivers has been adopted until the studies are completed.

438 For purposes of this cultural anthropological overview and
439 assessment, the boundaries (which may differ from the final
440 boundaries for various components of NIMI recommended at the
441 conclusion of planning studies now underway) of the study area
442 include: 1) 15 miles on either side of the Niobrara National
443 Scenic River segments; 2) 5 miles on either side of the
444 Niobrara/Missouri/Verdigre recreational segments; and 3) the
445 boundary as legislatively proposed for the Niobrara national park
446 study area. Counties partially within this study area include:
447 Boyd, Brown, Cedar, Cherry, Dixon, Holt, Keya Paha, Knox, and
448 Rock in Nebraska; and Bon Homme, Charles Mix, Clay, Gregory,
449 Union, and Yankton in South Dakota.

450 PREVIOUS ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES

451 Three anthropological and archeological overviews relating
452 the NIMI area were completed in the early 1980s and have proven
453 to be useful starting points for this study. These broad-scope
454 studies, which were conducted primarily for archeological
455 resource management purposes, are reported in the following
456 documents:

457 Blakeslee, Donald J., and John O'Shea
458 1983 *The Gorge of the Missouri: An Archeological Study of Lewis*
459 *and Clark Lake, Nebraska and South Dakota.* Archaeology
460 Laboratory, Wichita State University. Submitted to the U.S. Army

461 Corps of Engineers, Omaha District.

462 Hartley, Ralph J.
463 1983 *Ethnohistorical Background for the Proposed Norden*
464 *Reservoir Area, North Central Nebraska*. Section 1 in
465 "Ethnohistorical and Historical Background Studies: Norden
466 Reservoir Area, Nebraska," by Ralph J. Hartley and John S. Smith,
467 pp. i-iii to 1-238. University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Department
468 of Anthropology, Division of Archeological Research, Technical
469 Report 82-07.

470 Ludwickson, John, Donald Blakeslee, and John O'Shea
471 1981 *Missouri National Recreational River: Native American*
472 *Cultural Resources*. Report submitted to the National Park
473 Service, Interagency Archeological Services-Denver.

474 Although these reports deal primarily with the
475 identification and evaluation of archeological resources, they
476 are useful studies that offer a beginning point for further
477 assessing the cultural anthropological background of NIMI. All
478 three contain historical or ethnographic summaries of the various
479 American Indian groups that are historically or contemporaneously
480 associated with the NIMI region. In addition, the report by
481 Blakeslee and O'Shea also provides a detailed description of the
482 Bon Homme Hutterite Colony. However, their geographic scope does
483 not cover all of the NIMI region, each focuses primarily on a
484 different area of NIMI, and they do not all review the same
485 native peoples (see Table 1-1). Together they do not constitute
486 a comprehensive or current ethnographic overview of NIMI, for the
487 following reasons:

- 488 1. Each study focuses on different geographical portions of
489 NIMI as currently designated, and ignores other portions of the
490 NIMI study area;
- 491 2. The studies are now a decade or more old, and do not reflect
492 more recent research; and
- 493 3. The studies review the histories of American Indian groups
494 only to circa 1865 (prior to the establishment of reservations),
495 and do not describe the post-reservation histories of those
496 peoples.

497 NIMI-ASSOCIATED AMERICAN INDIAN AND OTHER GROUPS

498 Three Federally-recognized American Indian tribes--the
499 Northern of "Cold" Poncas, the Yankton Sioux, and the Santee
500 Sioux,--still reside as organized cultural groups within the
501 study area, and are the primary focus of the study. Other
502 American Indian groups that utilized the NIMI area for various
503 non-residential purposes in the past will be studied to a lesser
504 extent.

Review of the studies cited above suggests that the following American Indian peoples had a significant historical presence in and/or strong traditional tie to areas within NIMI: Northern and Southern Poncas; Omahas; Ioways; Pawnees; Arikaras; Santee Sioux (Dakota speakers); Brule and Oglala Sioux (Lakota speakers); Yankton Sioux (Nakota speakers); Plains Apaches (Paducahs; Gattackas or Catakas; Palomas; Kiowa Apaches).

Groups also reviewed in previous studies relating to the study area, but which are not judged in the present study to have significant historical or contemporary ties to NIMI, include the Mandans, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Comanches.

Indian trust lands, administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on behalf of the NIMI "resident" tribes, exist on the Santee and Yankton Indian reservations, and the Northern Poncas, who do not have an established reservation, tribally own a small amount of land which is administered as trust lands (see Chapters 3, 29, and 30).

The reservation of the Winnebagos of Nebraska exists near, but wholly outside, NIMI. The Winnebagos arrived at this location in 1865 as refugees from the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota, and they lack significant historical or contemporary ties to NIMI.

In separate chapters that follow, the cultural anthropological overview and assessment presents information about each of the American Indian groups identified above. Particular emphasis is placed on tribes having a current "residential" tie to the study area (such as the Poncas, Yanktons, and Santees).

Ethnic and/or religious groups of Euroamerican derivation (such as Scandinavians, Czechs, Germans from Russia, Hutterites, Mormons, etc.), which have an historical association with NIMI, are also the subjects of this study, but less attention is devoted to them than to the numerous American Indian peoples associated with the area.

PROJECT PERSONNEL

The study was conducted by the Midwest Archeological Center of the National Park Service, based in Lincoln, Nebraska, in cooperation with cultural anthropologists at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln who were hired by the Center for this purpose. The study team consisted of the individuals identified below.

Dr. F. A. Calabrese, Chief of the Midwest Archeological Center, provided overall managerial oversight of the project.

Dr. Robert K. Hitchcock (Associate Professor of Anthropology

at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln) served as co-Project Director and assisted with writing of certain sections and assembly of the report. Dr. Hitchcock is an applied anthropologist with 15 years of consulting and research experience in that field.

Ms. Beth R. Ritter (Adjunct Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln) served as co-Project Director; conducted the consultations with American Indian groups and individuals and wrote the consultation chapter; prepared the post-reservation histories of the Poncas and Yanktons (the former in collaboration with Mr. *Oliver Froehling*), as well as the analysis of changes in Federal Indian policy and the resulting effects on the Native American groups resident in the NIMI region; and prepared, in collaboration with Mr. *Oliver Froehling*, a doctoral student in geography at the University of Nebraska, the ethnographic summary of the Poncas. Ms. Ritter has performed extensive research on the Northern Poncas, completing her M.A. thesis on the restoration of Federal recognition of that tribe. She presented a paper on the NIMI cultural anthropological overview project at the November 17-23, 1993, meeting of the American Anthropological Association. The paper was entitled "Collaborative Research and Applied Anthropology in the National Parks: The Niobrara/Missouri Scenic Riverways Project." She also served as an ethnographic consultant on NIMI to the National Park Service in August, 1992.

The several ethnographic summaries on various ethnic and religious groups associated with NIMI were prepared by various individuals. As mentioned above, Ms. Ritter and Mr. *Froehling* wrote the summary on the Poncas. Dr. *Leonard R. Bruguier*, Director of the Institute of American Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota and a Yankton tribal member, prepared the summary concerning the Yankton Sioux. Ms. *Michele Moray*, a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, wrote the summaries on the Santee Sioux and the Pawnees. Ms. *Rebecca Hautzinger*, an anthropology student at the University of Nebraska-Omaha, prepared the summary on the Omahas. Ms. *Hautzinger* also contributed a chapter dealing with the Winnebagos in Nebraska during the period 1863-1879. Mss. *Gloria Rial* and *Judith Campbell Miller*, both graduate students in anthropology at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, furnished the summary on the Lakota Sioux groups historically associated with NIMI, while Ms. *Michelle Watson*, also an anthropology graduate student at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, prepared the summaries relating to non-American Indian cultural groups associated with NIMI, specifically those concerning the Hutterites, Mormons, African Americans, Czechs, Germans and Germans from Russia, and Scandinavians. Ms. *Watson* also prepared ethnographic summaries on the Winnebagos, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Plains Apaches. Ms. *Michele Voeltz*, an undergraduate anthropology student at Bates College, prepared ethnographic summaries on the Arikaras,

598 Mandans, Arapahos, and, in collaboration with Ms. Watson, the
599 Iowas. She also contributed information about the Santees to the
600 post-reservation history chapter.

601 Mr. Thomas D. Thiessen, Archeologist at the Midwest
602 Archeological Center, coordinated the project activities and
603 assembled and edited the overview and assessment report. He also
604 prepared the introductory chapter and chapters dealing with the
605 legislative background; Sioux ethnonymy; ethnographic places; and
606 co-authored with Dr. Hitchcock and Ms. Ritter the recommendations
607 chapter.

608 Mrs. Anne Wolley Vawser, Archeologist at the Midwest
609 Archeological Center, while not a contributor to the present
610 volume, simultaneously compiled information on the NIMI
611 archeological database, and shared information with the overview
612 research team.

613 ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

614 This overview is organized into five parts. Part I contains
615 Chapters 1 and 2, the introduction and legislative background
616 information, respectively. Part II consists of Chapters 3
617 through 7, which are separate ethnographic sketches of each of
618 the three "resident" NIMI Native American tribes (Poncas,
619 Yanktons, Santees), as well as a chapter dealing with the
620 histories of the residential tribes following establishment of
621 their reservations and a brief chapter that reviews the ethnonymy
622 of the linguistic and cultural divisions of the Sioux. Part III
623 contains brief ethnographic sketches of other Native American
624 tribal groups historically associated with NIMI, such as the
625 Omahas, Lakotas, Iowas, Winnebagos, Pawnees, Arikaras, Mandans,
626 Cheyennes, Arapahos, Commanches, and Plains Apaches (Chapters 8-
627 19). Part IV deals with immigrant cultural or religious groups
628 from Europe that historically were present in the NIMI region and
629 whose descendants reside there today. This part contains
630 Chapters 20 through 27, focusing on the Germans, Hutterites,
631 Czechs, French-Canadians, Mormons, Scandinavians, African
632 Americans, and Irish. Part V contains Chapters 28-31, which
633 respectively concern ethnographic places; an overview of American
634 Indian governmental policy as it relates to the three residential
635 NIMI tribes; consultation with the NIMI resident tribes; and
636 concluding recommendations. Following Part V are two appendices,
637 one containing the tribal government constitutions, charters,
638 etc. for the three residnetial tribes, and the other presenting
639 selected treaties, executive orders, etc. that have played an
640 important role with respect to the three residential tribes.

641 REFERENCES CITED

642 Franklin, Rachel, Michael Grant, and Martha Hunt
643 1994 *Historical Overview and Inventory of the Niobrara/Missouri*

644 *National Scenic Riverways, Nebraska/South Dakota.* Report
645 prepared by the Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service,
646 Omaha, Nebraska.

647 National Park Service
648 1994 NPS-28: *Cultural Resource Management Guideline*, Release
649 No. 4. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service,
650 Washington, D.C.

651 Vawser, Anne M. Wolley, and Alan J. Osborn
652 n.d. *Archeological Overview and Assessment, Niobrara/Missouri*
653 *National Scenic Riverways, Nebraska and South Dakota.* Report in
654 preparation, Midwest Archeological Center.

655 Table 1-1. Comparison of geographic coverage and
 656 ethnographic/historical treatment of ethnic/religious groups by
 657 Ludwickson et al. (1981), Blakeslee and O'Shea (1983), and
 658 Hartley (1983).
 659

660	Geographic Study Area	Groups Described
661		
662	<i>Ludwickson et al. 1981</i>	
663	Gavin's Point Dam to Ponca,	Omaha/Ponca*
664	Nebraska (= 1978 designated	Sioux
665	Mo. Natl. Rec. River)	Pawnee
666		Arikara
667		Mandan
668		Ioway*
669	<i>Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983</i>	
670	Lewis and Clark Lake	Ponca*
671	(= part of the 1991	Yankton*
672	designated Mo. River	Santee*
673	nat. rec. area study)	Omaha*
674		Pawnee
675		Hutterites of the Bon
676		Homme Colony*
677	<i>Hartley 1983</i>	
678	Central Niobrara River	Ponca
679	(conducted for the	Yankton
680	Norden Dam proposal)	Omaha
681	(= 1991 designated	Teton Sioux
682	Niobrara Natl. Scenic	Pawnee
683	River & Niobrara	Arikara
684	6-mile segment)	Plains Apache
685		Cheyenne
686		Arapaho
687		

688 * denotes extended discussion of these groups in the cited study.

1 [Last revised: 26 June 1995]

2 CHAPTER 2

3 RELEVANT LEGISLATION

4 Thomas D. Thiessen

5 INTRODUCTION

6 Over the course of nearly the past century, the Federal
7 government has enacted laws that define the responsibility of its
8 officials toward the cultural resources of the United States.
9 The following discussion will identify cultural resource
10 legislation pertinent to NIMI, together with Executive Orders,
11 regulations, and policy statements that bear on the management of
12 cultural resources within and near the NIMI study area.
13 Particular emphasis will be given to laws, regulations, and
14 policies that define the government's relationship to American
15 Indian people and traditional cultural properties relating to
16 American Indian tribes. Legislation that mandates protection of
17 native religions and ethnographic resources is relatively new,
18 having come into existence within the last 20 years.

19 LAWS, REGULATIONS, AND DIRECTIVES

20 Table 2-1 lists the laws, Executive Order, and other federal
21 directives that are discussed below, together with regulations,
22 policy statements, and other pertinent formal guidance pertaining
23 to their implementation. These laws, regulations, and directives
24 are important not only for the management of cultural resources
25 (including traditional cultural properties) in federal
26 stewardship, but only for defining the relationship of federal
27 agencies and bureaus to federally recognized American Indian
28 tribes.

29 *Antiquities Act of 1906*

30 The Antiquities Act of 1906 established a criminal penalty
31 for the appropriation, excavation, injury to, or destruction of
32 any Federally-owned historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or
33 any object of antiquity, without the permission of the Secretary
34 of the Department having jurisdiction over such property. It
35 also established a system of permits for legitimate archeological
36 research on Federal lands, and authorized the President to
37 declare historic and prehistoric properties as national
38 monuments. Late in 1906, uniform rules and regulations were
39 promulgated by the Secretaries of Interior, Agriculture, and War
40 to govern the administration of the Act. Although never
41 repealed, the Antiquities Act was largely superseded in 1979 by
42 the passage of the Archeological Resources Protection Act, which
43 provides more stringent standards and penalties for the
44 protection and investigation of archeological resources on

45 Federal and Indian land.

46 *Historic Sites Act of 1935*

47 The Historic Sites Act of 1935 provides the Secretary of the
48 Interior, through the National Park Service, with broad authority
49 to conduct research on historical and archeological sites,
50 buildings, and objects; acquire land containing such properties;
51 enter into contracts and cooperative agreements with non-Federal
52 parties for the protection, preservation, maintenance, or
53 operation of such properties; restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate,
54 preserve, and maintain such properties of national significance,
55 and operate museums in conjunction therewith; operate and manage
56 such properties for the benefit of the public; commemorate
57 historical or archeological places and events of national
58 significance; develop an educational program to make historical
59 and archeological information available to the public; and other
60 powers. It also established the Advisory Board on National
61 Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments to advise the
62 Secretary in matters relating to the National Park System. This
63 Act has long been the basis for many of the historic preservation
64 activities of the National Park Service.

65 *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*

66 The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 is the
67 keystone of the National Register of Historic Places program and
68 the Section 106 responsibilities of all Federal agencies. Title
69 1 of the Act established the National Register as "a national
70 register of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects
71 significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and
72 culture." According to regulations subsequently issued,
73 individual properties may qualify for the National Register on
74 the basis of their significance on the national, state, or local
75 level. The Act also established an independent agency, the
76 Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, to advise the
77 President and Congress on historic preservation matters and to
78 work with other Federal agencies on meeting their Section 106
79 responsibilities. This Act has had far-reaching consequences for
80 all Federal agencies, inasmuch as Section 106 of the Act requires
81 them to consider the impact of their programs and actions on
82 properties that are listed on, or are eligible for, the National
83 Register. In complying with Section 106, agencies are encouraged
84 to follow the Advisory Council's regulations entitled "Protection
85 of Historic and Cultural Properties," codified as Title 36 of the
86 Code of Federal Regulations, Part 800 (36 CFR 800), which sets
87 forth criteria for measuring the significance of individual
88 properties and the effects that agency activities will have upon
89 properties. These regulations spell out in detail the procedure
90 for documenting compliance with Section 106, as well as for
91 consulting with the Advisory Council on Section 106 findings.

92 The Act was strengthened in 1980 by amendments which, among
93 other things, added Section 110 which clearly places
94 responsibility on Federal agency heads for preservation of
95 historic properties under the jurisdiction or control of their
96 agency. Toward this end, Section 110 directs Federal agencies to
97 "locate, inventory, and nominate" to the National Register all
98 historical and archeological properties under their jurisdiction
99 or control, much as Executive Order 11593, signed by the
100 President in 1971, also requires (see below). The 1980
101 amendments also contain many other provisions relating to
102 historic preservation matters, but it is important to note that
103 Section 304 authorizes Federal agencies to withhold from the
104 public information about the location or nature of historical and
105 archeological resources when the release of such information "may
106 create a substantial risk of harm, theft, or destruction to such
107 resources."

108 The Act was further amended in 1992. Like the 1980
109 amendments, the 1992 amendments contain many diverse provisions,
110 but Section 101(d) specifically relates to American Indian
111 tribes. That section encourages the establishment of tribal
112 historic preservation programs, gives tribes parallel
113 responsibilities to State Historic Preservation Officers in
114 administering some aspects of tribal historic preservation
115 programs, and authorizes grants to tribes for the purpose of
116 preserving their historic heritage. Section 101(d)(6)(A)
117 provides that American Indian traditional religious and cultural
118 properties may be eligible for listing in the National Register
119 of Historic Places, and the following subsection directs Federal
120 agencies, in the course of meeting their responsibilities under
121 Section 106, to consult with tribes on the effects of agency
122 programs and activities on traditional religious and cultural
123 properties. The 1992 amendments also add to Section 304 a
124 provision that allows withholding of information about historic
125 properties if disclosure may 1) "cause a significant invasion of
126 privacy" or 2) "impede the use of a traditional religious site by
127 practitioners."

128 *National Environmental Policy Act of 1969*

129 The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 requires
130 Federal agencies to disclose, by means of environmental impact
131 statements prepared for the public, the effects of proposed or
132 planned projects on the environment. Cultural resources are
133 regarded as part of the environment for this purpose. It is
134 generally held that environmental impact statements must disclose
135 impacts to National Register or National Register-eligible
136 historical or archeological properties. Consequently, if the
137 historical or archeological properties within the direct (and
138 often the indirect) impact area of proposed or planned
139 undertakings are not fully known, survey investigations must be
140 conducted to locate and assess their National Register

141 significance so that appropriate impact information can be
142 disclosed.

143 *Executive Order 11593, Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural*
144 *Environment*

145 Executive Order 11593, signed by President Nixon on May 13,
146 1971, is not law but as an Executive Order it carries the force
147 of law. Among its provisions are the requirement that Federal
148 agencies "locate, inventory, and nominate" to the National
149 Register all historical and archeological properties under their
150 jurisdiction or control. Although the Order set a deadline of
151 July 1, 1973, for these activities, it has been ruled that
152 passage of that date does not relieve agencies of responsibility
153 to meet the requirements of the Executive Order. The Executive
154 Order's provisions and language regarding the identification and
155 inventory of historical and archeological properties were
156 embodied, virtually verbatim but without any completion deadline,
157 in a 1980 amendment that created Section 110 of the National
158 Historic Preservation Act (see above).

159 *American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978*

160 In 1978, Congress passed the American Indian Religious
161 Freedom Act to:

162 protect and preserve for Americans Indians their inherent
-163 right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the
164 traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut,
165 and native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to
166 sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom
167 to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.
168 (American Indian Religious Freedom Act, Section 1)

169 Section 2 of the Act directed Federal agencies "to evaluate
170 their policies and procedures in consultation with native
171 traditional religious leaders in order to determine appropriate
172 changes necessary to protect and preserve Native American
173 religious cultural rights and practices." This is a key piece of
174 legislation on which is based much of the current relationship
175 between the National Park Service and American Indian people (see
176 the discussion of the Service's Native American Relationships
177 Management Policy below).

178 *Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979*

179 The Archeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) augments
180 the protective intent of the earlier Antiquities Act by 1)
181 prohibiting the excavation, removal, damage to, alteration, or
182 defacement of archeological resources on Federal or Indian lands;
183 2) providing stringent penalties for persons who violate any
184 prohibition of the Act; and 3) establishing a permit system to

185 regulate legitimate archeological research on Federal and Indian
186 lands. In addition, the statute prohibits trafficking in
187 archeological artifacts obtained in violation of this Act or any
188 other Federal law, and it protects the confidentiality of
189 information on the nature and location of archeological resources
190 on Federal and Indian lands. A 1988 amendment to ARPA (Public
191 Law 100-555, 102 Stat. 2778, 16 USC 470mm) directed the Secretary
192 of the Interior, among other agency heads, to develop plans and
193 schedules for archeological surveys of lands under their control.
194 Final uniform regulations for ARPA were published in the *Federal*
195 *Register* on January 6, 1984, and are codified in Title 43 of the
196 *Code of Federal Regulations*, Part 7 (43 CFR 7).

197 *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for*
198 *Archeology and Historic Preservation*

199 On September 29, 1983, the Secretary of the Interior's
200 Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation
201 were published in the *Federal Register*. This document sets forth
202 a wide range of standards and guidelines for historic
203 preservation activities in several disciplines, including
204 archeology. Included is guidance on: 1) identifying and
205 evaluating historical properties; 2) registering historical
206 properties in the National Register of Historic Properties; 3)
207 documentation of various kinds of historical properties; 4)
208 standards for various treatments of historical properties, such
209 as protection, stabilization, preservation, acquisition,
210 rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction; and 5) minimum
211 professional qualifications for personnel who direct historic
212 preservation projects. Ethnographic resources are not
213 specifically addressed in the document.

214 *NPS-28: The National Park Service Cultural Resources Management*
215 *Guideline*

216 The National Park Service developed a guideline which
217 comprehensively explains policies and procedures relating to the
218 full range of cultural resources administered by the Service.
219 The current version is Release No. 4, issued in September, 1994.
220 Chapter 10 of NPS-28 discusses the management of ethnographic
221 resources and activities, including a brief description of the
222 kinds of studies that should be conducted and differing levels of
223 investigation. It describes the ethnographic overview and
224 assessment as a study that:

225 ...reviews and summarizes existing eythnographic data for
226 people and resources associated with parks; the assessment
227 evaluates them and identifies data gaps. Information is
228 derived primarily from existing archival and published
229 materials and is supplemented with ethnographic
230 interviewing of knowledgeable community consultants
231 (NPS-28, Chapter 10, page 174)

- 232 The kinds of information contained in an ethnographic
233 overview and assessment typically include:
- 234 * a statement of the basis for the group's access to the
235 resources, e.g. treaties, park enabling legislation,
236 cooperative agreements, special use permits, other
237 legislation;
 - 238 * a list of the peoples (tribe, community, ethnic group)
239 covered by the legislation, agreements, and the park
240 resources they use;
 - 241 * previous descriptions of ethnographic occupation, cultural
242 significance of natural resources and physical environmental
243 features (e.g. plants, caves, rock shelters, springs,
244 shrines, and other sacred locations);
 - 245 * use of each type of resource, including frequency of use,
246 nature of use (religious or subsistence), size of harvest
247 (if appropriate), which forms part of the data base for the
248 ethnographic program;
 - 249 * an annotated and current bibliography that meets management
250 needs for ethnographic information on the associated
251 peoples;
 - 252 * a record of consultations with Native Americans and other
253 ethnic groups whose lifeways and cultural resources may be
254 affected by park management plans and actions;
 - 255 * a list of ethnographic resources to be considered for
256 inclusion in the CSI; and
 - 257 * recommendations for further study needs regarding park-
258 associated ethnic groups.

259 *NPS Guidelines for Consultation with Native Americans About*
260 *Archeological Projects and the Disposition of Human Remains*

261 On November 25, 1986, the Acting Director of the NPS issued
262 a memorandum reminding NPS managers of the requirements for
263 issuance of ARPA permits for archeological investigations, and
264 especially for consultation with appropriate Native American
265 tribes when archeological investigations are expected to result
266 in harm to, or destruction of, "any Indian tribal religious or
267 cultural site on public lands." Such notification is to take
268 place at least 30 days prior to the issuance of any ARPA permit
269 for the investigation. In essence, these guidelines specify that
270 cultural and religious values regarding human remains "must be
271 considered and reconciled" when human remains are to be disturbed
272 or removed as a result of NPS archeological investigations or
273 construction/development work. They also stipulate that Indian

274 tribes or other groups (such as Hutterites and the Amish) should
275 be consulted in such situations as well, and they establish that
276 costs "accruing as a result of consultation with ethnic groups
277 and treatment or curation of human remains are to be borne by the
278 Service."

279 *NPS Native American Relationships Management Policy*

280 On September 22, 1987, the final version of the NPS Native
281 American Relationships Management Policy was published in the
282 *Federal Register*. This is a comprehensive policy statement that
283 governs the broad relationship between the Service and American
284 Indian tribes. The policy's preamble summarizes the general
285 philosophy underlying this relationship:

286 *The National Park Service, to the extent consistent with*
287 *each park's legislated purpose, shall develop and execute*
288 *its programs in a manner that reflects knowledge of and*
289 *respect for the cultures, including religious and*
290 *subsistence traditions, of Native American tribes or groups*
291 *with demonstrable ancestral ties to particular resources in*
292 *or within the National Park system. Such ties shall be*
293 *established through evidence from systematic archeological*
294 *or ethnographic studies, including ethnographic oral history*
295 *and ethnohistory studies, or a combination of these sources.*

296 The policy provides more specific direction on Service-
297 Native American interrelationships in the area of park resource
298 management, planning and operations, research, and
299 interpretation, generally requiring prior consultation with
300 Native American groups when actions in these areas will affect
301 the religious or traditional cultural values held by these
302 groups. Some specific directions of the policy are:

303 * Guaranteeing to Native Americans access to and use of
304 locations within parks that have been historically used
305 for traditional religious activities. Such use may be
306 governed by a permit issued in accordance with 36 CFR 2.50,
307 "Special Events," or 2.51, "Public Assemblies, Meetings."

308 * Gathering of fish and wildlife will be allowed for the
309 pursuit of traditional religious or subsistence activities
310 when authorized by law or existing treaty rights.

311 * Hand gathering of vegetable materials such as fruit, nuts,
312 and berries for personal use or consumption will be allowed
313 upon a "written determination that the gathering or
314 consumption will not adversely affect park wildlife, the
315 reproductive potential of a plant species, or otherwise
316 affect park resources."

317 * The Service will protect sacred sites, places, and objects

318 under its stewardship "to the extent consistent with
319 legislation and Service capabilities."

320 * Burial areas, whether marked or unmarked, will be protected
321 from disturbance unless there are no feasible and prudent
322 alternatives, in which case appropriate Native American
323 groups will be consulted concerning the proper treatment and
324 disposition of human remains that must be disturbed. The
325 preferences of these groups will be considered by the
326 Service "to the maximum extent feasible under current law."

327 * The Service shall consult appropriate Native American groups
328 at the earliest practicable time during the planning process
329 and shall seek the views of such groups throughout the
330 decision-making process. To this end, each Superintendent
331 shall maintain a "current roster" of potential and appropriate
332 contacts within such groups.

333 * Service sponsored or executed research "shall reflect
334 sensitivity to the privacy of community consultants
335 regarding their practices, beliefs, and identities."

336 * The Service will consult with appropriate Native Americans
337 in acquiring, maintaining, using, and disposing of museum
338 objects associated with Native American groups. To this
339 end, the Service will acquire only objects "having a legal
340 and ethical pedigree in accord with existing laws," policy,
341 and guidelines. Repatriation of objects will be made 1)
342 when the requesting groups can show that the requested
343 material is their inalienable communal property; and 2)
344 requests are made by representatives empowered to act on
345 behalf of the group. "Interested persons" will be given
346 access to inspect or study Service museum collections and
347 records, "consistent with standards for the use and
348 preservation of collections."

349 * The Service shall consult and cooperate with Native
350 Americans in planning interpretive programs. Interpretive
351 programs about Native American subjects will employ
352 ethnographic information and concepts, and will present
353 factual, value-neutral information about Native American
354 and non-Native American cultures, heritage, and history.

355 The Native American Relationships Management Policy
356 explicitly supersedes an earlier NPS policy statement, Special
357 Directive 78-1, "Policy Guideline for Native American Cultural
358 Resources Management," which provided policy guidance that has
359 been outmoded by subsequent laws and directives.

360 *NPS Management Policies*

361 The latest version of the National Park Service's *Management*

362 *Policies* (1988), a formal collection of policy statements
363 governing virtually every aspect of NPS operation, contains
364 numerous references to how the Service is to incorporate
365 consideration of Native American concerns and consultation with
366 tribes into its planning and operational activities. Most of
367 this discussion is contained in Chapter 5, "Cultural Resource
368 Management," but many pertinent references are scattered
369 throughout other chapters of the document. Statements are found
370 related to:

371 "New Area Studies and Criteria" (Chapter 2, pages 1 and 4);
372 "Park Planning Process and Products" (Chapter 2, pages 5-6);
373 "Park Planning in a Regional Context" (Chapter 2, pages 9-
374 10);
375 "Natural Resource Management" (Chapter 4, pages 1, 5, 7);
376 "Wilderness Management" (Chapter 6, page 7);
377 "Interpretation by Others" (i.e., by non-NPS persons)
378 (Chapter 7, page 4);
379 "Interpretation and Native Americans" (Chapter 7, page 5);
380 "Native American Use" (of parks) (Chapter 8, page 8-10);
381 "Special Park Uses" (Chapter 8, page 15); and
382 "Concession Administration" (Chapter 10, pages 8-9).

383 The collective gist of these policy statements is that NPS
384 will conduct its business in consultation and cooperation with
385 Native Americans, and with consideration of the concerns of
386 Native Americans for their religious and traditional beliefs and
387 practices.

388 *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990*

389 On November 16, 1990, the President signed into law the
390 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA),
391 which has far-reaching consequences for NPS museum collections
392 and treatment of human remains and associated objects discovered
393 on NPS lands in the future. NAGPRA has several purposes. Simply
394 stated, these are 1) to restore to Native American groups certain
395 kinds of museum objects that have religious or cultural
396 significance to those groups; 2) to repatriate skeletal and other
397 human remains, together with associated funerary objects, to
398 lineal descendants or culturally affiliated Native American
399 groups; and 3) to protect Native American graves from disturbance
400 and govern the disposition of Native American human remains and
401 certain kinds of cultural objects that are discovered--either
402 inadvertently or intentionally--on Federal and tribal lands in
403 the future. It also prohibits trafficking in Native American
404 human remains and certain kinds of cultural objects.

405 NAGPRA imposes several obligations on museums and Federal
406 agencies that own or control human remains and certain kinds of
407 Native American objects in their museum collections. These kinds
408 of objects include both archeological and ethnographic materials,

irrespective of where the collections are housed. Inasmuch as NIMI does not have any museum collection at present, the procedures spelled out in NAGPRA for identifying certain kinds of museum objects (unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony must be summarized, while human remains and associated funerary objects are to be inventoried by certain dates specified in the law) generally do not pertain to NIMI.

However, NAGPRA also spells out some procedures to be followed when human remains and NAGPRA-relevant objects are discovered or excavated on Federal and tribal lands, either accidentally during maintenance, construction, or other work activities, or intentionally during archeological research, whether done by Service researchers or by archeologists working under ARPA permits. NAGPRA establishes a priority ordering of ownership for human remains and cultural objects excavated or discovered on Federal or tribal lands after the date of enactment of the Act. This is, briefly stated, lineal descendants first, followed by the Indian tribe on whose reservation lands such materials are found; the Indian tribe with the closest cultural affiliation with the materials; the Indian tribe on whose aboriginal territory the materials were found (aboriginal territory means the land established as a group's historic homeland by a final decision of the Indian Claims Commission or the United States Court of Claims); and finally, by a claiming tribe that can show a closer cultural relationship with the materials than the tribe that aboriginally occupied the land where they were found.

NAGPRA also stipulates that intentional excavation and removal of human remains and cultural objects from Federal or tribal land must take place pursuant to ARPA; must be accomplished after consultation with appropriate Indian tribes; will be governed by the ownership priorities outlined above; and must be conducted only after proof of consultation or consent is documented.

In the case of accidental discovery of human remains and cultural objects on Federal or tribal lands, NAGPRA requires that any activity--such as construction, mining, agriculture, and so forth--that revealed such materials be stopped and notification be provided to the appropriate Native American tribe. Following such notification and after certification that notification has been received, the activity may resume after 30 days. In such a case, disposition and control of such materials proceeds as in the case of intentional excavation.

The National Park Service developed proposed regulations for the implementation of NAGPRA, which were published in the *Federal Register* on May 28, 1993. Comments were solicited from the public and were due to be received in Washington on July 27,

1993. As of this writing (June 1995), final regulations have not been issued and the proposed regulations of May 28, 1993, stand only as unofficial guidance for matters involving compliance with NAGPRA. The May 28 proposed regulations dealt in large part with procedures for preparing summaries of, consultations about, and repatriation of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. Many of the sections concerning guidance for the inventory and disposition of human remains and associated funerary objects and future discoveries of human remains were reserved for drafting in the future.

Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993

The Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993, enacted on November 16, 1993, recognizes that actions and policies of the Federal government often unintentionally interfere with, or "burden," the free exercise of religion as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution. Consequently, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act protects the free exercise of religion by directing that "the Government shall not substantially burden a person's exercise of religion" unless two conditions are met: 1) the government's action "is in furtherance of a compelling governmental interest;" and 2) the action "is the least restrictive means of furthering that compelling governmental interest." While applying to all religious beliefs in general, the Act has especially potential implications for the relationship between NIMI and the practice of religion by the three Native American tribes resident in the NIMI region. Native religions often require the use of certain natural resources or access to certain places of sacred significance, both kinds of which may be expected to lie within the eventual NIMI boundaries.

Secretary of the Interior's Order No. 3175 and the President's Memorandum Concerning Government-to-Government Relations with tribal Governments

In 1993 and 1994, Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt and President Bill Clinton issued directives to Interior bureaus and agencies of the Executive Branch that require all federal interactions with recognized American Indian tribes be conducted on a government-to-government basis. These directives are intended to ensure that the rights of Indian tribes as sovereign dependent nations are recognized and honored by all federal agencies and bureaus (see Chapter 29 for further discussion of tribal sovereignty).

The emphasis of each directive is slightly different. Secretary Babbitt's Order No. 3175 (November 8, 1993) deals with the subject, "Departmental Responsibilities for Indian Trust Resources." It requires Interior bureaus to "operate within a government to government relationship with federally recognized Indian tribes" for the purpose of identifying, protecting, and

conserving tribal trust resources. Consequently, bureau heads are directed to be aware of the impact that programs and activities in their charge may have on Indian trust resources, disclose such information to tribes, and consult with tribal governments about such impacts.

Generally stated, the President's memorandum, signed on April 29, 1994, and published in the May 4, 1994, issue of the *Federal Register*, directs all Executive Branch departments and agencies to assess and take into consideration the impact of their programs and activities on tribal trust resources, to consult with tribal governments about all actions that affect federally recognized tribes, and to cooperate with tribal governments and other federal departments and agencies on matters that affect tribal trust property and the governmental rights of Indian tribes.

Presidential Memorandum Regarding the Distribution of Eagle Feathers for Native American Religious Purposes

Also published in the May 4, 1994, issue of the *Federal Register* was another Presidential memorandum. This memorandum directs federal agencies and bureaus to "improve their collection and transfer" of eagle fathers and body parts to Native Americans for use in traditional religious practices. "Salvageable" eagle carcasses found on federal lands are to be shipped to the National Eagle Repository for subsequent distribution to Native Americans.

American Indian Religious Freedom Act Amendments of 1994

On August 6, 1994, the American Indian Religious freedom Act Amendments of 1994 were enacted to guarantee to American Indians the right to use, possess, and transport peyote "for bona fide traditional ceremonial purposes in connection with the practice of a traditional Indian religion." No Indian can be penalized or discriminated against by federal or state authorities for possessing peyote used for such purposes. This is an important consideration for practitioners of the pan-tribal Native American Church, which has long used peyote as one of its sacraments.

Tribal Self-Governance Act of 1994

The Tribal Self-Governance Act of 1994 comprises Title IV of the Indian Self-Determination Act Amendments of 1994 (P.L. 103-413, 108 Stat. 4250), which became law on October 25, 1994. The Indian Self-Determination Act Amendments of 1994 supplement P.L. 93-638, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (25 U.S.C. 450 et seq.), a law that established a Federal policy of allowing American Indian tribes to take a greater hand in administering educational and other Federal services to Indian people. The law authorizes the Federal government to enter into contracts with tribes to enable the latter to control funding and decision-making for programs

551 previously administered by Federal agencies and bureaus,
552 principally the BIA and the Department of Health, Education, and
553 Welfare. At its heart, the law, and subsequent amendments
554 thereto, are rooted in the legal concept of Indian tribes as
555 dependent sovereign nations that enjoy, on the basis of the U.S.
556 Constitution, treaties, and precedent law, a special relationship
557 with the United States government. In 1988, amendments to P.L.
558 93-638 established the Tribal Self-Governance Demonstration
559 Project to demonstrate, on an experimental basis, that
560 participating tribes possessed the administrative and fiscal
561 capability to assume management of programs run by the BIA.

562 The 1994 amendments to P.L. 93-638 enlarged the scope of the
563 Self-Governance program to include the programs of all Department
564 of the Interior (DOI) bureaus, including the NPS. Tribes
565 certified to participate in the tribal Self-Governance program
566 are eligible to enter into annual funding agreements with any of
567 the DOI bureaus for the purpose of tribal administration of
568 "programs, services, functions, and activities" run by those
569 bureaus. Presently, 36 tribes (none of them in the NIMI region)
570 are eligible for Self-Governance. The law allows up to 20 more
571 tribes to be declared eligible for participation in the Self-
572 Governance program each year, provided they have completed
573 certain planning and fiscal requirements, and have formally
574 applied for the program. In addition to giving American Indian
575 tribes decision-making and funding control of certain programs,
576 etc., the Act also has an additional objective of providing for
577 "a planned and measurable parallel reduction in the Federal
578 bureaucracy" as a result of the shift of program responsibilities
579 to tribes (Section 203).

580 The Tribal Self-Governance Act of 1994 authorizes DOI
581 bureaus to enter into annual funding agreements with eligible
582 tribes, by which decision-making responsibility and funding for
583 specific "programs, services, functions, and activities" of those
584 bureaus will be turned over to the tribes. The law authorizes
585 the tribes to "plan, conduct, consolidate, and administer" such
586 programs, etc., and also provides for "advance payments" to be
587 made to the tribes in annual or semi-annual installments, at the
588 discretion of the participating tribes. In order to give the
589 tribes as much latitude as possible in the decision-making
590 process, the law (Section 403[i][2]) allows tribes to request the
591 Secretary of the Interior to waive regulations pertaining to
592 programs, etc., administered by the tribes under the Self-
593 Governance program. DOI bureaus will continue to have the
594 responsibility to identify funding needs for Self-Governance
595 activities in their annual budget requests to Congress.

596 At present (June 1995), the Tribal Self-Governance program
597 does not affect the planning for NIMI. In the future, however,
598 Self-Governance may become relevant to NIMI as additional tribes
599 are certified to participate in the program.

600 In addition to the above-described enacted laws and
601 regulations, an Executive Order is presently under consideration
602 by the Clinton Administration, which would have as its purpose
603 the protection of Native American sacred sites. It is an
604 outgrowth of unsuccessful bills introduced in both houses of
605 Congress in 1993 and 1994, which died with the end of Congress in
606 1994. The draft text of the order has not been released, so its
607 ramifications for planning and future management of NIMI are
608 unknown at present.

609 CONCLUSION

610 Together, the laws, Executive Order, regulations, and other
611 guidance summarized above clearly direct that Federal agencies
612 conduct their affairs in ways that show sensitivity and
613 consideration for American Indian political sovereignty,
614 religious beliefs, sacred places and objects, graves, traditional
615 cultural resources, and locations that have continuing
616 traditional importance to native peoples. A common theme
617 emphasized among them is that agencies, to the maximum extent
618 possible and practical under existing law, *consult* with
619 appropriate Native American groups in *all* agency actions--
620 proposed, planned, or underway--that have the potential to affect
621 such groups. Consultation should be made on a government-to-
622 government basis, meaning that contacts with tribes should be
623 formally made with the duly-constituted tribal governments.

624 Many of the chapters that follow will be largely concerned
625 with identifying and briefly describing Native American groups
626 that have historical and/or contemporary associations with the
627 NIMI study area, and recommendations will be offered for
628 conducting consultations with them. Information about other,
629 non-native peoples and groups will also be similarly summarized
630 to provide a perspective on the historical reasons for their
631 presence in the area as well as an evaluation of their continuing
632 ties to the region.

633 Table 2-1. Major federal laws, Executive Order, regulations,
 634 policies, directives, and guidance relating to management of
 635 cultural resources at NIMI and federal-Native American
 636 relationships in general.
 637

638	Document	Date Passed/Signed	Citation
639			
640	Antiquities Act	8 Jun 1906	PL 59-209
641			34 Stat. 225
642			16 USC 431
643	Uniform Rules and	28 Dec 1906	
644	Regulations for the		
645	Antiquities Act		
646	Historic Sites Act	21 Aug 1935	PL 74-292
647			49 Stat. 666
648			16 USC 461-467
649	National Historic	15 Oct 1966	PL 89-665
650	Preservation Act		80 Stat. 915
651	(NHPA)		16 USC 470 et seq.
652	[Regulations for]	30 Jan 1979	36 CFR 800
653	Protection of		
654	Historic and		
655	Cultural Properties		
656	NHPA Amendments	12 Dec 1980	PL 96-515
657	of 1980		94 Stat. 2987
658			16 USC 470 et seq.
659	The Section 110	17 Feb 1988	FR 17 Feb 1988
660	[of NHPA] Guidelines		
661	National Environmental	1 Jan 1970	PL 91-190
662	Policy Act of 1969		83 Stat. 852
663			42 USC 4321 et seq.
664	Executive Order 11593,	13 May 1971	
665	Protection and		
666	Enhancement of the		
667	Cultural Environment		
668	American Indian	11 Aug 1978	PL 95-341
669	Religious Freedom		92 Stat. 469
670	Act		42 USC 1996
671	Archeological	31 Oct 1979	PL 96-95
672	Resources Protection		93 Stat. 721

673	Act (ARPA)		16 USC 470
674	Secretary of the	29 Sep 1983	FR 29 Sep 1983
675	Interior's Standards		
676	for Archeology and		
677	Historic Preservation		
678	Uniform Regulations	6 Feb 1984	FR 6 Feb 1984
679	for ARPA		
680	NPS-28, Cultural	Aug 1985	
681	Resources Management		
682	Guideline, Release		
683	No. 3		
684	NPS Guidelines for	25 Nov 1986	Memo of 25 Nov 1986
685	Consultation with		
686	Native Americans		
687	About Archeological		
688	Projects and the		
689	Disposition of		
690	Human Remains		
691	NPS Native American	22 Sep 1987	FR 22 Sep 1987
692	Relationships		
693	Management Policy		
-694	NPS Management	Dec 1988	
695	Policies (especially		
696	Chapter 5, Cultural		
697	Resource Management)		
698	Native American	16 Nov 1990	PL 101-601
699	Graves Protection		104 Stat. 3048
700	and Repatriation Act		25 USC 3001 et seq.
701	(NAGPRA)		
702	NHPA Amendments	31 Oct 1992	PL 102-575
703	of 1992		Stat. _____
704			16 USC 470 et seq.
705	Proposed Regulations	28 May 1993	FR 28 May 1993
706	for NAGPRA		
707	Secretary of the	8 Nov 1993	
708	Interior's Order		
709	No. 3175 concerning		
710	Departmental		
711	responsibilities		
712	for Indian trust		
713	resources		

14	Religious Freedom	16 Nov 1993	PL 103-141
715	Restoration Act		107 Stat. 1488
16	of 1993		42 USC 2000bb
717	Presidential	29 April 1994	<i>Federal Register</i> ,
718	memorandum		Vol. 59, No. 85,
19	concerning		pp. 22951-22952
20	government-to-		
721	government relations		
22	with tribal governments		
723	Presidential	29 April 1994	<i>Federal Register</i> ,
24	memorandum		Vol. 59, No. 85,
25	concerning the		pp. 22953-22954
726	distribution of		
727	eagle feathers for		
28	Native American		
29	religious purposes		
30	American Indian	6 October 1994	PL 103-244
31	Religious Freedom		108 Stat. 3125
732	Act Amendments of		42 USC 1996
33	1994		
734	Tribal Self-	25 October 1994	PL 103-413
735	Governance Act		108 Stat. 4250
36	of 1994 (Title IV		
737	of the Indian Self-		
738	Determination Act		
39	Amendments of 1994)		
40			

741 Note: PL = Public Law
 742 Stat. = Statutes
 743 USC = United States Code
 744 FR = Federal Register
 745 CFR = Code of Federal Regulations

3 CHAPTER 3

4 PONCA ETHNOGRAPHIC AND GEOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

5 Beth R. Ritter and Oliver Froehling

6 INTRODUCTION

7 The Poncas were the smallest of the *Dhegiha*-speaking cognate
8 tribes, which include the Omahas, Kansas, Quapaws, and Osages.
9 The Poncas are long-term residents throughout the NIMI study
10 area; however, their core territory has consistently emanated
11 from the Niobrara/Missouri confluence for centuries. Ponca
12 geography has contributed greatly to their history, as well as
13 their cultural inventory. The Poncas' geopolitical juxtaposition
14 between several large, powerful plains tribes (e.g., Teton Sioux,
15 Pawnees, and Omahas) has had a profound impact on the Poncas'
16 relationship (and overall well-being) with the federal government
17 throughout the historic era. Their cultural adaptations were
18 also highly characteristic of eastern periphery prairie-plains
19 tribes who pursued a mixed strategy of bison hunting and semi-
20 sedentary horticulture along the fertile floodplains. As a
21 result of forced relocation to present-day Oklahoma in 1877, the
22 Poncas split into two groups, the Northern Poncas who returned to
23 the tribal homeland in Nebraska and the Southern Poncas who
24 remained in Oklahoma. The following chapter will sketch a brief
25 overview of Ponca traditions and culture in general, with
26 emphasis on the Northern Poncas.

27 HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

28 The definitive ethnography detailing Ponca culture and
29 history, *The Ponca Tribe*, was written by the late James H. Howard
30 (1965). Howard also made important contributions with articles
31 documenting ceremonial life (1959; 1961; 1971) and the
32 description and location of known village sites (1970). James
33 Owen Dorsey, a missionary, was one of the earliest and most
34 prolific ethnographers to document Ponca religion (1894; 1883),
35 mythology (1884; 1885; 1888a; 1888b; 1889), language (1883; 1894)
36 and social structure (1891; 1881-1882; 1886; Dorsey and Thomas
37 1910). George Amos Dorsey contributed an important work on one
38 of the last Ponca Sun Dances held in Oklahoma (1905). Fletcher
39 and LaFlesche (1992, originally published 1911) drew from
40 Dorsey's work with the Omahas and Poncas and added appreciable
41 ethnographic detail from informants from both tribes to produce
42 *The Omaha Tribe*. Other early ethnographic work by notable
43 anthropologists would include Skinner's (1915) comparative study
44 of social aspects of the Iowa, Kansa, and Ponca tribes and

documentation of Ponca language by Boas (1906) and Boas and Swanton (1911).

Based on Indian Claims Commission research, Jablow's *Ethnohistory of the Ponca* (1974) remains one of the most solid contributions to the Ponca literature. Wood's (1959) "Notes on Ponca Ethnohistory" provides an excellent overview of the Ponca protohistoric period, based on Wood's extensive archaeological work on Ponca archeological sites (1960; 1965; 1978; 1993). Cash and Wolff (1975) are frequently cited for their history, *The Ponca People*; however, it lacks scholarly documentation and is written primarily from the Southern Ponca perspective. Three biographies of prominent Poncas have been produced: "Xube, A Ponca Biography" (Whitman 1939); "Peter Le Claire--Northern Ponca" (Le Claire 1961); and *White Eagle* (Zimmerman 1941).

The now-famous 1879 trial of Chief Standing Bear, a Northern Ponca, has resulted in numerous publications and legal treatments. Helen Hunt Jackson (1888) was among the most articulate of the Ponca supporters. Her book, *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States' Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes*, mobilized the Indian reform movement and resulted in restitution for the Poncas (Mathes 1987, 1990; Prucha 1984; Mardock 1979; Olson & Wilson 1984). Thomas Henry Tibbles, a local journalist involved with the Standing Bear case, published a dramatic account of the trial (1972, originally published 1880), and toured the East Coast with Chief Standing Bear and "Bright Eyes", an Omaha Indian (Susette LaFlesche), to publicize the plight of the Poncas. Perhaps the best account of the trial of Standing Bear and the concomitant impact of the Standing Bear case on U.S. case law is Lake's "Standing Bear! Who?" (1981).

Recent contributions to the Northern Ponca literature include articles by Grobsmith and Ritter (1992) and Ritter (1994) outlining termination policy and the recent restoration of the Northern Poncas' federally-recognized status. In addition, an excellent overview of nineteenth-century Ponca ethnohistory, demography, and dispossession is provided in Wishart's *An Unspeakable Sadness: The Dispossession of the Nebraska Indians* (1994).

ETHNONYMY

According to Howard (1965:5-6), the name the Poncas use to refer to themselves is *Ponka*. The meaning of this term is no longer known, however; it is used as a clan or subclan name among the *Dhegiha*-speaking Osages, Kansas, and Quapaws (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1992; Howard 1965:5). The only *Dhegiha* speakers lacking a *Ponka* clan are the Omahas, lending support to the often-cited likelihood that the Poncas were once a clan of the Omaha tribe (Howard 1965; Dorsey 1884:218-222; Champe, cited in

93 Wood 1959:10; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992:4). After the 1877
94 removal of the Ponca tribe to Indian Territory and their
95 subsequent split, the Northern Ponca band came to be known as
96 *Osni-Ponka* meaning "Cold Poncas" and the Southern Poncas came to
97 be known as *Maste-Ponka*, which means "Warm Poncas" (Howard 1965).
98 Reportedly, the Poncas also frequently referred to themselves,
99 collectively, as *Dhegiha*, meaning "The people of this group"
100 (Howard 1965:5-6).

101 Beyond tribal and linguistic designations, the Poncas
102 identified themselves by clan names. In the historic period,
103 Howard (1965:6) reports that the Poncas often identified
104 themselves with one of two bands associated with the two village
105 locations: *Waixude*, "The Gray Blanket Village Group" or *Hubdo*,
106 the "Fish-smell Village Group."

107 CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

108 The Poncas speak a dialect of the *Dhegiha* group of Siouan
109 languages. Close linguistic and cultural relatives of the Poncas
110 would include the Omahas, Kansas, Quapaws, and Osages. The
111 dialects of the Omahas and Poncas are mutually-intelligible, with
112 the exception of a few modern words (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992;
113 Dorsey 1885). Perhaps predictably, the Omahas and Poncas,
114 therefore, share a high degree of cultural similarity in terms of
115 social, ceremonial, and political structure (Fletcher and
116 LaFlesche 1992).

117 ORIGIN AND MIGRATION TRADITIONS: FIRST AMERICAN CONTACTS

118 The Poncas are one of the five tribes in the *Dhegiha*
119 language group, together with the Omahas, Quapaws, Kansas, and
120 Osages. The origin of this group can be traced with some
121 certainty to the Ohio River Basin (Howard 1965:4; Cash and Wolff
122 1975:2). Some traditions place earlier origins of the tribes
123 "near a great body of water" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1992,
124 1:70), which has been interpreted variously as the Great Lakes,
125 the Gulf of Mexico, or the Atlantic.

126 Dorsey (1884) prepared a map showing the migration of the
127 five tribes and the significant events that occurred along the
128 route (Fig. 3-1). This information is supported by other
129 researchers, in particular Howard (1965) and Fletcher and La
130 Flesche (1992). The five tribes, traveling together but already
131 divided into the five tribal groups, followed the Ohio River to
132 the Mississippi. At the mouth of the Ohio, the Quapaws followed
133 the Mississippi downstream whereas the rest of the group migrated
134 upstream. They spent some time at the confluence of the
135 Missouri, in the area of today's St. Louis. After further
136 migration westward, the Osages separated, following the Osage
137 River into the area of today's southern Kansas, and the Kansas
138 continued along the Missouri into what is today northeastern

139 Kansas. The Omahas and Poncas were joined by the Iowas and
140 migrated gradually through the present-day states of Missouri and
141 Iowa into the area of Pipestone, Minnesota. From there they
142 proceeded to the Big Sioux River, and built a fortified village.
143 Because of continued raids by the Dakotas, the three tribes were
144 obliged to migrate further west to Lake Andes, South Dakota.
145 There they cut the Sacred Pole and assigned particular customs
146 and duties to each clan. After continuing further along the
147 Missouri River to the mouth of the White River, they crossed to
148 the west bank of the Missouri. There the Omahas and Iowas
149 remained, while the Poncas went on to the Black Hills. After a
150 short stay in the Black Hills, the Poncas returned eastward and
151 reunited with the Omahas and Iowas. Together, they migrated
152 downstream along the Missouri to the mouth of the Niobrara. Here
153 the Poncas remained while the Omahas and Iowas continued further
154 downstream.

155 Fletcher and La Flesche (1992) do not give an indication of
156 the time period when this migration took place. According to
157 Dorsey (in Howard 1965:15), the separation of the Quapaws had
158 occurred before 1540, and the Poncas arrived at the Niobrara
159 around 1670. Howard (1965:15-16) presents archeological evidence
160 that would date the Ponca, Omaha, and Iowa village on the Big
161 Sioux River to 1700, their stay at the White River to around
162 1715, and the final split between the Omahas and Poncas to 1735,
163 which is also supported by Jablow's research (1974:28). On a map
164 dated from 1718 there is an indication of the "Wandering Omahas"
165 far above the Omahas and Iowas who are situated on the Big Sioux
166 River (Howard 1965:24). It seems certain that the Poncas as a
167 distinct tribe were living on the Niobrara by the 1730s. The
168 first confirmed historical mention of the Poncas is in 1785, when
169 they are reported to occupy a village at Bazile Creek (Jablow
170 1974:18; 331).

171 DEMOGRAPHY

172 The population figures of the Poncas prior to removal in
173 1877, as detailed in early reports of traders and explorers and
174 later in censuses of Indian agents, present the picture of a
175 population that is wildly fluctuating (see Fig. 3-2 and Table 3-
176 1) (Jablow 1974:147; Howard 1965:17). While part of this
177 fluctuation is certainly due to the difficulties in assessing an
178 often-nomadic population, other sources also suggest a high flux
179 due to epidemic diseases, especially smallpox, which struck the
180 Poncas in 1801 (Fletcher and La Flesche 1992, 2:620; Howard
181 1965:26). The numbers, however, also demonstrate that the
182 population had the ability to rebound to a general average of
183 about 900 until the 1860s. This would indicate that the Poncas
184 still had access to enough resources to offset the losses due to
185 epidemics through increased birth rates.

186 After the land cession of 1858, population estimates become

187 more reliable due to increased government involvement in tribal
188 affairs and the need for accurate population estimates in order
189 to assess the need for rations. The agents' reports in the
190 *Annual Reports* of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (ARCIA) are
191 a major source of information on the Poncas in this time period.
192 By 1860 the bison had disappeared from the eastern Great Plains,
193 which meant that the Poncas had to travel farther and farther
194 west on their summer hunt. The increased travel time also meant
195 more exposure to the Dakotas and a higher chance of missing the
196 bison herds altogether. Howard (1965:30) reports that the last
197 successful bison hunt took place in 1855. The increase in
198 unsuccessful outcomes is demonstrated by the continued decline in
199 Ponca population after 1860, and also supported by reports from
200 agents (ARCIA 1860-1876; Welsh 1872). Dakota raids further
201 intensified after the Ponca reservation was included in the Great
202 Sioux Reservation in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty.

203 When the Poncas were removed in 1877, about 30 tribal
204 members stayed behind with tribes in the area, such as the
205 Omahas, Santees, and Yanktons (ARCIA 1877:102). Many mixed blood
206 Poncas were also allowed to stay in the Niobrara region. After
207 Standing Bear returned in 1879 (because his trial gained him
208 permission to stay in the aboriginal Ponca territory) a steady
209 stream of tribal members from the south increased the membership
210 of the Northern Poncas (or cold Poncas) to a maximum of 230 in
211 1888 (Fig.3-3). When the reservation was parcelled up during the
212 course of allotment in severalty, several members left the
213 reservation and stayed permanently in the south. After this
214 period, the Northern Ponca tribe increased steadily in numbers, a
215 fact that also increased the problems associated with the limited
216 amount of land available. At the time of termination in 1965,
217 the Northern Ponca tribal membership was 442, about 70 of whom
218 resided in the area of the reservation (U.S. Department of the
219 Interior, Office of the Secretary 1965).

220 TRIBAL TERRITORY AND GEOGRAPHY

221 The question of establishing a tribal territory is not an
222 easy one, since Native American land tenure is quite different
223 from Euroamerican concepts of land ownership and territory. In
224 general, traditional Native American territories demonstrate a
225 high degree of overlap and seasonality of use. One way of
226 looking at Ponca geography is considering their "action space,"
227 i.e., the extent of the area utilized for all major activities.
228 Clues to this territorial range appear in works by Jablow (1974)
229 and Howard (1965). Howard (1970) also gives an account of the
230 village sites of the Poncas, combining archeological and oral-
231 history evidence.

232 The traditional subsistence base of the Poncas consisted of
233 hunting, plant collection, and horticulture, which involved
234 planting a variety of corn and beans in fields that were located

235 around the mouth of the Niobrara. They utilized a large area in
236 the central Great Plains for various activities, including
237 trading at the Missouri river, salt gathering at Salt Creek,
238 military and horse-raiding parties against the Pawnee and the
239 Sioux, visits to friendly tribes like the Omahas and Otoe-
240 Missourias, and hunting all the way from the Missouri River to
241 the Rocky Mountains (Fig. 3-4). After the acquisition of the
242 horse in the early eighteenth century and the onset of the fur
243 trade, hunting increased even more in importance and resulted in
244 a westward expansion of the region utilized by the Poncas (Jablow
245 1974:29). The core of the Ponca territory was the area along the
246 Missouri River, between the mouth of the Niobrara Ponca Creek,
247 and Bazile Creek. This area was exclusively occupied by the
248 Poncas. Part of this core aboriginal territory was included
249 within the 1865 reservation boundaries; however, the area around
250 Bazile Creek was not included in any Ponca reservation and later
251 (1866) became part of the Santee reservation.

252 The Poncas claimed that their traditional hunting territory
253 extended from the Missouri River on the east to the Black Hills
254 and foothills of the Rocky Mountains in the west, and from the
255 White River in the north to the Platte in the south (Fig. 3-5).
256 The Poncas shared and disputed it with other tribes, notably the
257 Omahas to the east, the Pawnees to the south, and the Dakotas (or
258 Sioux) to the north and west. There are indications that the
259 area between the Niobrara and the Keya Paha rivers was respected
260 as Ponca territory, even though they could not prevent the much
-261 stronger Dakotas from passing through it on their way to the
262 Platte (Jablow 1974:288).

263 The Ponca seasonal activities started with the preparation
264 of the fields in early spring. After spring planting, the tribe
265 would depart on the summer hunt into the western part of the
266 country, leaving the old and infirm at the villages. They would
267 return in the fall for harvesting, then leave again for their
268 winter hunt in October. They would stay out on the winter hunt
269 until, once again, it was time for spring planting. This
270 seasonal round is of course idealized, there is evidence that the
271 Poncas totally abandoned horticulture in some years, especially
272 in the 1830s and 1840s (Jablow 1974:329-330). In other years,
273 they were prevented from going on the hunt by the hostile
274 Dakotas.

275 During the late 1700s and early 1800s the Poncas had
276 benefitted from the fur trade, which provided an incentive to
277 increase hunting in the winter. The guns received from the trade
278 could tip the balance of power in the region in their favor and
279 other goods were traded with tribes further upstream. To protect
280 their preferential access to trade goods and their position as
281 middlemen, the Poncas also tried to prevent traders from
282 continuing upstream on the Missouri (Howard 1965:25-26). By
283 1830, however, the number of fur bearing animals in the area was

substantially reduced and the power of the Ponca position had declined. At this time the Poncas took up a fully nomadic lifestyle in order to follow the buffalo to the west (Wishart 1992:66-67).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Poncas made several treaties with the U.S. government, starting in 1817 with a friendship treaty, which was renewed in 1826. Being remote from the resettled eastern Indians and the Oregon Trail, they were not (unlike other Nebraska Indians) pressured to sell land in the 1830s and 1840s. Indeed that was the time when they discontinued their village life and took up a nomadic lifestyle, following the decreasing buffalo herds to the west. To this end they had to ally themselves with the Dakota and participate in raids against their close relatives, the Omahas. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, however, and the decline of the bison herds, they were obliged to consider selling lands for basic support. Their last successful summer bison hunt took place in 1855; after this date their fragile alliance with the Teton Dakotas was over. This made it impossible for the Poncas to venture west to the bison herds and return with their bounty (Ritter-Knoche 1990). In 1858 they ceded the vast part of their land and retained a reservation between the Niobrara and Ponca Creek. The extent of this cession was disputed, because the Poncas claimed a much larger territory than was finally accepted in the treaty. The Omahas and Pawnees had ceded their lands in 1854 and 1857, and as a result of these overlapping claims, no description of the ceded lands entered into the final treaty with the Poncas. It was, in essence, defined by default.

The traditional territory claimed by the Poncas, as described in original sources, is confusing in its description and is contradictory when actually mapped. They claimed that their territory was bounded by lines

Beginning at the mouth of the river Aoway, thence up Elk Creek to the old Omaha Village on the river Elk Horn, thence westwardly to the Black Hills, thence along the Black Hills to the source of the White River, thence down said river to where it empties into the Missouri, thence down the Missouri to the beginning. (Jablow 1974:414)

The problem is that the source of the White River is to the southwest of the Black Hills. This error is probably a result of poor translation and the unfamiliarity of the translator with the area. In all likelihood, the area that was supposed to be delineated is the one shown as hunting territory on Fig. 3-5.

When, in the middle of the twentieth century, these disputed Indian claims to land were adjudicated, the Indian Claims Commission ruled that the Poncas only held aboriginal title to territory that was exclusive of the cessions made by other tribes.

331 According to the Commission, the Ponca territory was bounded by the
332 Omaha cession of 1854 to the east, the Pawnee cession of 1857 to
333 the south, and the Fort Laramie Treaty line of 1851 to the west
334 (Fig. 3-6). This line ran directly from the mouth of the White
335 river to the forks of the Platte. The boundary between the Pawnee
336 and the Ponca cessions was set as the deciding line between the
337 watersheds of the Elkhorn and the Niobrara. The western boundary
338 of the Omaha cession was the west line of Range 5 West of Principal
339 Meridian, Nebraska (Jablow 1974:298). The compensation received
340 for this 2,334,000-acre cession was \$455,000, which amounts to 19.5
341 cents per acre. In its decision, the Indian Claims Commission
342 accepted one dollar per acre as fair market value, the price a
343 hypothetical informed purchaser would have made at the time of
344 taking (Wishart 1990).

345 The original description of the reservation created in 1858 is
346 also ambiguous and led to confusion. It was first described as

347 Beginning at a point on the Neobrara River and running due
348 north so as to intersect the Ponca River twenty-five miles
349 from its mouth; thence from said point of intersection, up and
350 along the Ponca River, twenty--miles; thence due south to the
351 Neobrara River; and thence down along said river to the place
352 of the beginning. (Royce 1899:818-819)

353 It was found, however, that this description did not conform to the
354 tract actually intended for the Poncas, so in 1860 the eastern
-355 boundary was set by the Commissioner of the General land office to
356 be the line between Ranges 8 and 9 West, and the western boundary
357 to be the line between Ranges 12 and 13 West of Principal Meridian,
358 Nebraska (Royce 1899:818-819).

359 Unfortunately, this reservation was poor farming land and had
360 very little timber. In addition, their reservation was removed
361 from their traditional fields and burial grounds. The promised
362 protection of person and property made by the federal government in
363 the 1858 treaty turned out to be considerably less than expected,
364 and the Dakotas, especially the Brule Dakotas, raided frequently.
365 Far removed from the next Euroamerican settlement, the small Ponca
366 nation was easy prey for the Dakota raiding parties who were
367 punishing them for making treaties with the United States
368 government. Frequent pleas by the Poncas and their agent for guns
369 and ammunition were ignored. No wonder that the agency was located
370 on the far eastern side of the reservation, as close as possible to
371 the nearest Euroamerican settlement in Niobrara (Fig. 3-7).

372 In 1865, the federal government, supposedly rewarding the
373 Poncas for their "constant fidelity to the government and citizens
374 thereof," exchanged the western part of their reservation for the
375 area between the Niobrara and the Missouri, thereby returning their
376 traditional burial grounds and fields (Royce 1899:836) (Fig. 3-7).
377 The area received by the Poncas coincides with the part of the

reservation located in Knox County, Nebraska. The agency was at once relocated to the Missouri River, which provided both protection from the Dakotas and easier access for supplies brought up the Missouri River.

In 1868, the Ponca reservation was included in the Fort Laramie treaty as part of the Great Sioux reservation. Since the Ponca title to the land was older, however, it should not have changed the status of the Ponca reservation as Ponca land. The federal government, however, did nothing to correct this error, and also neglected to protect the Poncas from the intensified Dakota raiding parties. All this time the reservation was part of Dakota Territory; not until allotment in 1891 did the area become part of Nebraska when her northern boundary was shifted from the Niobrara to the 43rd parallel.

In 1877, the Ponca tribe was removed to Indian Territory. The removal is described in the *Annual Report* of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1877 and shown on Fig. 3-8. After crossing the Niobrara, they proceeded through Milford, Nebraska, along Shell Creek and the Big Blue River to Manhattan, Kansas. They continued along the Neosho River to the Quapaw reservation in Indian Territory, south of Baxter Springs, Kansas. It was a story of disasters and large loss of life, indicated by the gravesites left along the way. Because of the poor conditions found on the new reservation in Indian Territory, several Poncas returned to the aboriginal homeland in Nebraska, among them Standing Bear and Smoke Maker, a hereditary chief. After the trial of Standing Bear in which the Poncas also gained the right to choose their residence, more Poncas returned from Indian Territory, finally forming the Northern Ponca Tribe. They settled on the old reservation grounds. Since it was also, at least officially, part of the Great Sioux reservation, no non-Indian settlements existed north of the Niobrara until 1890, when the reservation was allotted.

SUBSISTENCE

While the ethnographic record lacks documentation of Ponca subsistence prior to the 1780s, most contemporary scholars agree that the Poncas pursued a mixed subsistence strategy which included hunting, fishing, gathering of wild plant resources, and horticulture. Interestingly, many of the early ethnohistoric accounts tend to emphasize the nomadic bison hunting lifestyle (Jablow 1974; Lewis 1806), while others emphasize the sedentary, horticultural nature of Ponca subsistence (Tabeau in Jablow 1974; DeSmet 1905). Blakeslee and O'Shea (1983) suggest that the conflicting characterizations may represent the failure of Euroamericans to grasp the seasonal shifts in subsistence strategies practiced by the Poncas. The Poncas practiced a seasonal cycle which featured two communal bison hunts (in the spring and fall) interspersed with periodic semisedentary village life to pursue horticultural activities.

Arguably, hunting (particularly of bison) was one of the most important subsistence activities of the Poncas and therefore occupied the majority of their time. Factors which would have contributed to the documented shifts toward greater reliance on bison hunting would include: access to the horse and gun; economic incentives provided by the fur trade; the need to maintain mobility to escape the ravages of epidemic disease; and predation of the more-sedentary Plains tribes by the Teton Dakotas

According to Howard (1965:39) and Dorsey (1884:283), the Poncas distinguished between two types of hunting, *abaye*, "hunting by small groups of men without their families," and *gax an*, or "tribal hunts when the entire group, with its belongings, moved in pursuit of the bison." Communal bison hunts typically occurred twice yearly, one in late spring or early summer (after the corn fields were planted and hoed), the other in the fall (after the harvest). The length of the fall/winter hunt depended on the success of the hunt, the Poncas would not return until they had procured enough dried bison meat to overwinter. Consequently, the tribe sometimes did not return to the village until early spring.

'The buffalo hunt was sacred to the Ponca because they depended upon the buffalo for their winter store of dried meat'. Some idea of the tremendous importance of the bison to the people may be gained from Ponca ceremonies, nearly all of which have some bison symbolism. (Peter Le Claire quoted in Howard 1965:39)

The tribal hunts were led by an appointed hunt leader, assisted by the Buffalo-police. The hunt procession was led by the "sacred tribal pipe in its bundle..., tended by its priest or keeper..." (Howard 1965:40). Each night, the group camped in the *Huduga* or camp circle, which organized the camp by clan. Howard (1965) reports that the surround was one of the preferred methods of hunting on the communal hunt, and that cows and young buffalos were the preferred prey. Other game animals important in the Ponca economy included elk, deer, pronghorn antelope, and various species of small game (Howard 1965).

Wild plant foods and herbs, gathered primarily by Ponca women, included wildrice, wild onions, Indian-potatoes, wild sweetpeas, water chinquapin, ground beans, and *tipsina* or prairie turnips. Important cultigens included maize, beans, squash, gourds, pumpkins, and tobacco. Hartley (1983:105) suggests that the type of maize planted by the Poncas was likely the eight-rowed variety, similar to samples recovered at the Ponca Fort site (25KX1) (Galinat and Gunnerson 1963).

TECHNOLOGY

472 Howard (1965:51) characterizes Ponca material culture as
473 reflecting both a "Woodland heritage" and "later a Prairie-Plains
474 orientation." He goes on to state that

475 Thus the artifact inventory of the 19th-century Ponca
476 includes not only most of the items common to the "classic"
477 High Plains groups but also most of those common to the
478 Central Algonquians as well. (Howard 1965:51)

479 Ponca material culture included woodworking, rope-making,
480 basketry, weaving, leather-tanning and dyeing, lithic
481 manufacture, and ceramic manufacture. For the Poncas, the bow
482 and arrow was the most important weapon in the prehistoric and
483 protohistoric periods (Howard 1965:54).

484 The Poncas utilized four types of dwellings at the time of
485 European contact (Howard 1965:56). The most common dwelling at
486 the time of contact was the round earthlodge or *maithi*. The
487 Poncas credit the Arikaras, or "Sand Pawnee," with teaching them
488 to construct earthlodges (Howard 1965). A large earthlodge might
489 be occupied by an extended family, often consisting of two or
490 three brothers and their families. Bushnell (1922:84; also cited
491 in Howard 1965:56) relates that earthlodges were not arranged in
492 the traditional camp circle, or *huduga*, but were instead arranged
493 to accommodate individual family needs. Earthlodges were
494 traditionally constructed by women and generally featured an
495 east-facing entryway, "in order to catch the morning sun" (Howard
496 1965:56).

497 Reflecting their possible Algonquin associations, the Poncas
498 also reportedly constructed "wigwam" dwellings, although hides
499 were frequently substituted for the more traditional bark
500 covering. The two types reportedly utilized by the Poncas were
501 the *diudipu* or hemispherical wigwam and the elongated wigwam or
502 *diudipu-snide*.

503 The fourth type of dwelling described as traditional for the
504 Poncas was the tipi or *thiudidj*. The tipi was used during the
505 communal hunts and for temporary shelter. Typically, the tipi
506 was of the three-pole foundation variety, and featured twelve to
507 twenty lodgepole construction. Tipis were covered with hides,
508 frequently decorated with individual or clan markings.

509 SETTLEMENT

510 Early village sites are indicated by Howard (1970) who
511 collected this information from oral-history and archaeological
512 evidence (Fig. 3-4). Some of these village sites were permanent,
513 especially in the core area around the Niobrara and Bazile Creek,
514 and consisted of earth lodges. Others are older sites, occupied
515 during their migration with the Omahas, or village sites to be
516 occupied with tipis on the bison hunt. Of special note are the

517 sites near Pipestone, Minnesota, and on the Upper Missouri,
518 dating back to the early migration. Temporary sites were in
519 southeastern Nebraska, at the mouth of the Platte and on Salt
520 Creek. The site in the Black Hills is Wind Cave, also dating to
521 the early Ponca migrations.

522 Before removal the Poncas were located in three villages,
523 with the majority of individuals (377) residing in the agency
524 village, 248 residing in Point Village (or Gray Blanket Village),
525 and 114 residing in *Hubdon* Village (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1992,
526 1:51). There was no particular relationship between band
527 affiliation and the village of residence, except for the mixed-
528 blood band, which almost exclusively resided in the agency
529 village (ARCIA 1874). Point Village was located on the west bank
530 of the Niobrara, while *Hubdon* (or Fishsmell) village was on the
531 Missouri, near the mouth of Ponca Creek. The Ponca fields
532 indicated by a surveyor in 1858 also give an indication of the
533 traditional Ponca settlement area (U.S. Department of the
534 Interior, General Land Office n.d.) (Fig. 3-9). The village
535 sites are indicated, and so are some of the traditional fields,
536 located in the flood plains of the Missouri and the Niobrara.
537 These were chosen because of the soils in the floodplains were
538 much easier worked and more fertile than the prairie soils on the
539 bluffs and highlands. These areas were preferred when allotments
540 were taken out in 1890. The map also shows the different roads
541 leading from the town of Niobrara to Fort Randall and to the
542 different agencies. The site of the agency from 1859 to 1865 and
543 the associated village site and fields were apparently not
544 utilized after the agency had been shifted further east. Some of
545 the traditional burial sites located on the bluffs overlooking
546 the Missouri are also indicated.

547 After removal and return of part of the tribe, the
548 settlement on the reservation was dispersed, with most Poncas
549 living in their own wood-frame houses, furnished by the
550 government and located near their particular fields. Since they
551 did not have their own agent, but were part of the Santee agency,
552 there was little supervision (ARCIA 1880-1890). It is around
553 these locations that allotments were taken out in 1890. The
554 location of the allotment of the head of family should therefore
555 give a good indication of the residence of any particular family
556 in the 1880s. When the sale of allotments began in 1902, more
557 and more Poncas left the reservation.

558 TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

559 Before acquiring the horse, sometime in the late eighteenth
560 or early nineteenth century, the Poncas relied on domesticated
561 dogs as beasts of burden. The Poncas reportedly had different
562 breeds of dogs for various purposes, for example, large dogs
563 (similar to Great Danes) (Howard 1965:48) were used to pull
564 travois and were especially valuable on the hunt. Other breeds

of dogs were raised specifically for hunting or meat and hair.

While the ethnographic record lacks a clear consensus regarding the source of the first Ponca horses, the most likely channels were through the Padoucas or perhaps the Teton Dakotas (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1992; Howard 1965). Regardless of the origin, the horse rapidly became an integral part of the Ponca subsistence economy, raiding complex, and status system. Horses were used to pull travois on the hunt and for military and raiding purposes. Horse stealing or raiding was an important avenue for young men to enhance their status by demonstrating bravery. Horses also represented wealth and were thus frequently given away as bridewealth to the family of a Ponca bride.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Ponca social life was organized around the *huduga*, or camp circle, which represented seven patrilineal exogamous clans (Skinner 1915; Fletcher and LaFlesche 1911; Howard 1965). While some evidence exists for the division of clans into subclans, there is little evidence of phratries or moities. In historic times, an eighth clan was added to accommodate the children of non-Indian unions. Individual clans strictly possessed "ceremonies and traditional prerogatives," utilizing clan markings on arrows and property, clan haircuts, clan bundles, and specialized ritual knowledge (Howard 1965:97). Beginning with the first clan and proceeding clockwise around the camp circle, the Ponca clans were: 1) *Wazaze*, 2) *Nikapsna*, 3) *Dixida*, 4) *Wasabe*, 5) *Maka*, 6) *Nuxe*, 7) *Hisada*, and 8) *Wageziga*. In addition, each clan had its own hereditary chief who exercised authority over his clan.

Individual status within the tribe was determined by one's position in the family, the family's position within the clan, and the clan's position within the tribe (Dorsey 1897:213). Social prestige could also be gained through war honors or shamanism (Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983). As is true with many American Indian societies, generosity was a highly regarded virtue among the Poncas and was a requisite among leaders.

In addition to tribal clan affiliation, *Nikie* kinship, or kinship based on a common mythical ancestor is reported by Dorsey (1884a:252-253). This category of kinship often cross-cut tribal or clan affiliation and aligned members of the Ponca and Omaha tribes possessing similar *Nikie* kin together. The existence of this practice perhaps lends further weight to the contention that the Poncas and Omahas were once a single tribe and thus acknowledged their common ancestry (Ritter-Knoche 1990:28). The Poncas also had numerous dancing societies which cross-cut clan affiliations (Skinner 1915; Howard 1965; Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983).

611 Marriage, in Ponca society, was usually accompanied by a
612 substantial gift of property to the family of the bride
613 (bridewealth), e.g., horses. Generally speaking, marriages were
614 arranged, either by the groom or his family, with the bride's
615 family. Postmarital residence was frequently patrilocal, but in
616 the historic period newlyweds were allowed to choose whether to
617 live with or near either spouse's kin or to set up housekeeping
618 independent of either set of kin. Typically, a girl would marry
619 between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, men were generally
620 older at the time of marriage. Traditionally, the Poncas
621 practiced polygyny and favored sororal polygyny (the marrying of
622 sisters). Howard's (1965:148) informants reported that a woman
623 never had more than two husbands at a time. Howard (1965)
624 reports that husbands practiced a strict mother-in-law avoidance.
625 Divorce was easily obtained, usually informally. A man could
626 "give away" his wife at the *Heduska* ceremony to a younger man,
627 thereby ending his marital obligation and simultaneously gaining
628 prestige (Howard 1965:148).

629 ECONOMIC STRUCTURE: DIVISION OF LABOR

630 As is true with most Plains Indian groups, the Poncas
631 observed a strict division of labor by gender. Generally
632 speaking, domestic tasks were the responsibility of women, for
633 example, cooking, food processing, child-rearing, preparing and
634 decorating hides, building dwellings, and making ceramics. In
635 addition, women were primarily responsible for performing
-636 horticultural duties, with the exception of harvesting which the
637 men assisted with. Male activity spheres included leadership
638 roles in hunting, raiding, and ceremonial and political arenas.
639 Men were also responsible for manufacturing lithics and other
640 tools and weapons associated with the hunt and warfare.

641 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

642 The political hierarchy included two categories of chiefs,
643 responsible for both civil and ceremonial leadership duties. Of
644 the 14 Ponca chiefs, seven were chiefs of the first rank, or "big
645 chiefs" and seven were chiefs of the second rank, "little
646 chiefs." Chiefs of the first rank were generally promoted from
647 the rank of "little chief" and were commonly descended
648 patrilineally from chiefs of the first rank. Each chief was a
649 pipe carrier and, "as a symbol of his rank wore, on ceremonial
650 occasions, an otterskin cap with a downy eagle plume erect in a
651 socket at the back" (Howard 1965:92).

652 The head chief was always chosen from the ranking clan, the
653 Wasabe clan, and was responsible for the sacred tribal pipe. In
654 addition, he presided over council meetings and installed new
655 chiefs (Ritter-Knoche 1990; Howard 1965).

656 As mentioned previously, each clan had a hereditary chief.

This chief was generally, but not always, a member of the council of chiefs. Strictly speaking, this hereditary chief had authority only over members of his clan. Howard (1965) also recognizes the *Ituzpa*, who were successful warriors who had demonstrated behavior consistent with protecting the welfare of the people. In addition, the Buffalo-police played an important role in implementing the policies of the hunt leader and/or council of chiefs.

Tribal decision making was often characterized as consensus-based, which required a majority of tribal members to support the decisions of the council of chiefs. This style of governing often required protracted council and discussion to reach broad-based agreement. Howard (1965) suggests this style of government was a source of dissatisfaction with Euroamericans who dealt with the Poncas and were more accustomed to a strongly hierarchical decision-making process.

LIFE CYCLE

Howard (1965:141-143) characterizes Ponca attitudes towards sexuality and childbirth as "natural." While promiscuity was not generally tolerated, men and unmarried women were allowed many freedoms. As was true with many plains tribes, the Poncas reportedly allowed men (usually warriors) to take berdaches as wives (Howard 1965). According to Williams (1986) a berdache is "a morphological male who does not fill a society's standard man's role, who has a non-masculine character".

Childrearing was "permissive," with little physical discipline used. For Ponca boys, the vision quest was an essential part of their supernatural instruction. Howard's (1965) informants indicate that young boys often began accompanying Ponca warriors in raiding and warfare at the ages of twelve or thirteen. Adolescent girls had puberty ceremonies, but evidently this custom did not extend to boys.

Marriage customs are sparsely documented; however, Howard (1965) suggests that marriage feasts typically accompanied the nuptials. The Poncas practiced polygyny, preferring sororal polygyny, and accommodated divorce. Remarriage, after death of a spouse or divorce, was permitted for women as well as men.

In aboriginal times, elders had high status and were well-respected. It was considered an honor to hunt for the aged.

The Omahas and Ponkas never abandoned the infirm aged people on the prairie. They left them at home, where they could remain till the return of the hunting party. They were provided with a shelter among the trees, food, water, and fire...The Indians were afraid to abandon (*wagda*) their aged people, lest *Wakada* should punish them when they were away

702 from home. (Dorsey 1884:274-275 in Howard 1965:149)
703 Whitman (1939:192-193) suggests that acculturation undermined
704 this value system.

705 Death, in Ponca society, was seen as the result of various
706 malevolent or supernatural causes, and could therefore be
707 prevented by a medicine man. Dorsey (1894) suggests that the
708 Poncas believed in an eternal spirit that existed after the death
709 of the physical body. It was customary for the Poncas to conduct
710 a giveaway ceremony after the death of a relative. Ponca
711 funerary customs included using the scaffold (during winter when
712 the ground was frozen) and interment was often accompanied by
713 grave goods. The Poncas typically chose to bury their dead in
714 the hills surrounding their encampments (Blakeslee and O'Shea
715 1983).

716 RELIGION

717 The Ponca people characterize themselves as being a
718 spiritual people, with strong religious overtones interwoven
719 throughout every aspect of their daily lives. It is relatively
720 difficult to separate Ponca aboriginal belief systems from
721 influences gained as a result of contact with Euroamericans as
722 well as neighboring tribal groups (1965). Howard (1965:99)
723 suggests that the documented Ponca concept of an all-powerful
724 creator, *Wakanda*, is a notion which may have been influenced by
725 contacts with Euroamerican representations of the Judeo-Christian
726 god. For the Poncas, *Wakanda* is described as "the mysterious" or
727 "powerful one" (Howard 1965; Ritter-Knoche 1990).

728 One prevalent religious theme is the concept of *xube*, which
729 is an animatistic supernatural force. The Poncas believed that
730 certain individuals, as well as animate and inanimate objects and
731 places could attract and maintain this supernatural force. *Xube*
732 could be sought on a vision quest, publicly at the Sun Dance or
733 bought and sold in the form of medicine packets (Howard 1965).

734 *Xube* was often "stored" in medicine packets or bundles,
735 packets which were usually individually owned and related to
736 the owner's special vision. Bundles were larger and
737 frequently "owned" by the clan, society or the tribe as a
738 whole. The packets and bundles were considered sacred and
739 treated with great reverence. (Ritter-Knoche 1990:31)

740 Ceremonials and ceremonial preparations consumed
741 considerable time and resources in nineteenth-century Ponca life.
742 Among the most important of these ceremonials to survive into the
743 historic period were the Sun Dance, the Pipe Dance or *Wa-wa*, and
744 the *Heduska* or War Dance. For more detail on these and other
745 Ponca ceremonials see: G.A. Dorsey 1905; Howard 1961, 1965,
746 1971; Fletcher and La Flesche 1992; Skinner 1915.

747

DIVERSIONS

748 As earlier mentioned, ceremonial activity and symbolism was
749 interwoven into many aspects of Ponca daily life. As a result,
750 it is often difficult to distinguish between purely "ceremonial"
751 versus "secular" activities. This characterization is
752 particularly true in regards to societies, games, and dances. In
753 particular, the various "medicine societies" had definite ritual
754 elements, generally relying on the power of various animal
755 spirits, contacted during vision quests, to aid in healing.
756 Howard (1965) estimates that nineteenth-century Poncas dedicated
757 up to one-third of their time to these categories of activities.
758 The societies, e.g. dance, medicine, warriors', women's, etc.,
759 were intra-tribal organizations which cross-cut clan
760 affiliations. Membership was often "purchased", as, for example,
761 with the Medicine Lodge Society, and entailed various ritual
762 prerogatives and responsibilities. Many societies owned their
763 own sacred bundles.

764 Footraces were quite popular with the Poncas, and perhaps
765 predictably when horses were obtained, horse racing became an
766 important pastime. Howard (1965:126-130) also mentions the
767 shinny game, the *Magadeze* or arrow game, the bowl dice game, the
768 moccasin game, the hand game, and various children's games as
769 important diversions for the Poncas.

770

CONCLUSIONS

771 Howard (1965) suggests that the Southern Poncas have been
772 more successful in retaining their traditions than the Northern
773 Poncas, who have endured considerably greater assimilationist
774 pressures (see Chapters 7 and 29). However, the Southern Poncas
775 have adopted many traditions from neighboring tribes since
776 settling in Oklahoma. For example, the Native American Church,
777 or peyote religion, is highly popular among the Southern Poncas.
778 The Northern Poncas, for the most part, have not become
779 peyotists. Perhaps reflecting the influence of the Lakota and
780 other northern Plains tribes, many Northern Poncas continue to
781 practice the sacred pipe religion, including an annual Sun Dance
782 (under the guidance of Lakota medicine men). The Northern and
783 Southern Poncas sponsored an historic re-unification ceremony at
784 the first annual Northern Ponca powwow in 1994 (at the historic
785 self-help community building powwow grounds near Niobrara,
786 Nebraska). This symbolic ceremony marks the renewed commitment
787 of both Ponca Tribes to share their collective cultural destinies
788 to heal the Ponca Nation's sacred hoop.

789

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Table 3-1. Historical population figures for the Ponca Indians, 1780-1898. The Poncas were removed to Indian Territory in 1877, so estimates of the Poncas in Oklahoma begin in 1878; estimates of Poncas who returned to Nebraska begin in 1880.

Year(s)	Northern Ponca est.	Southern Ponca est.	Source
1780	800 persons		Mooney, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1785	80 warriors		Miro, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1802	50 warriors		Vilemont, cited in Jablow 1974:365
Ca. 1803	400 warriors		de Finiels 1989:93
1804	250 warriors or persons		Chouteau, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1804-1805	80 warriors		Tabeau, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1805	50 warriors; ca. 200 persons		Lewis and Clark, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1805	250 men (Poncas & Omahas)		Lewis and Clark, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1806?	200 persons		Lewis and Clark map published 1814, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1811	300 warriors; 1,400 persons		<u>Louisiana Gazette</u> , 25 Apr 1811, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1814?	150 warriors		Cooke, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1820	Ca. 200 persons		James, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1820	750 & 1,250 persons		Horse, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1823	225 warriors		J. Pilcher to W. Clark, 26 Aug 1835, cited in Jablow 1974:365
1824	670 persons		Wilson to O'Fallon, 19 Oct 1824, cited in Jablow 1974:366
1825	180 warriors; 900-1,000 persons		Atkinson, cited in Jablow 1974:366
1829	300 warriors;		Doughtery, Estimate...Upper Missouri

	1,500 persons	Agency, 1 Sep 1829, cited in Jablow 1974:366
1829	600 persons	Schoolcraft, cited in Jablow 1974:366
1832	400-500 persons	Catlin, cited in Jablow 1974:366
1833	300 warriors	Maximilian, cited in Jablow 1974:366
1834	800 persons	Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs, 1834, cited in Jablow 1974:366
1834	800 or 1,000 persons	Merrill, cited in Jablow 1974:366
1835	800 persons	I. McCoy, Annual Register of Indian Affairs with the Indian (or Western) Territory, 1835, cited in Jablow 1974:336
1835	600-800 persons	Parker, cited in Jablow 1974:336
1835	75-100 men	Doughtery to Clark, 20 Aug 1835, cited in Jablow 1974:336
1835	Ca. 100 warriors	Pilcher to Clark, 26 Aug 1835, cited in Jablow 1974:336
1835-1836	800 persons	Map in American State Papers, Military Affairs, vol. 6, p. 130, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1836	800 persons	ARCIA, 1836, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1836	900 persons	Schoolcraft, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1837	240 men, 300 women, 260 children	J. Pilcher, Statement of Indians, 30 Sep 1837, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1837	900 persons	ARCIA, 1837, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1839	800 persons	Farnham, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1841	900 persons	ARCIA, 1841, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1842	800 persons	ARCIA, 1842, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1843	800 persons	ARCIA, 1843, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1844	777 persons	ARCIA, 1844, cited in Jablow 1974:337
1845	777 persons	ARCIA, 1845, cited in Jablow 1974:337

1847	1,600 persons	ARCIA, 1847, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1847	1,000 persons	Schoolcraft, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1847-1851?	700 persons	Schoolcraft, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1848	1,000+ persons	De Smet, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1849	800 persons	Schoolcraft, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1850	700 persons	Schoolcraft, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1854?	800 persons	Schoolcraft, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1855	300 warriors	Warren, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1857	600 persons	Petition of Citizens, 30 Jun 1857, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1857	800-900 persons	<u>Ponca Talk</u> , 29 Dec 1857, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1858	716 persons	Gregory to Wilson, 20 Jul 1858, cited in Jablow 1974:338
1860	1000 (approx.)	Graph, notes
1861	973	ARCIA, 1861
1862	1054	ARCIA, 1862
1863	864	ARCIA, 1863
1865	1100	ARCIA, 1865
1866	980	ARCIA, 1866
1867	980	ARCIA, 1867
1869	768	ARCIA, 1869
1870	730 (approx.)	Graph, notes
1871	736	ARCIA, 1871
1872	735	ARCIA, 1872
1873	738	ARCIA, 1873
1874	730	ARCIA, 1874

1875	734		ARCIA, 1875
1876	730		ARCIA, 1876
1877	717		ARCIA, 1877
1878		620	ARCIA, 1878
1879		*530	ARCIA, 1879 (*66 left reservation during year)
1880	103	530	ARCIA, 1880
1881	175	515	ARCIA, 1881
1882	168	542	ARCIA, 1882
1883	170	537	ARCIA, 1883
1884	174	560	ARCIA, 1884
1885	178	574	ARCIA, 1885
1886	207	546	ARCIA, 1886
1887	210	528	ARCIA, 1887
1888	217	520	ARCIA, 1888
1889	224	533	ARCIA, 1889
1890	217	?	ARCIA, 1890
1891	196	575	ARCIA, 1891
1892	207	567	ARCIA, 1892
1893	205	578	ARCIA, 1893
1894	210	588	ARCIA, 1894
1895	211	586	ARCIA, 1895
1897	214	602	ARCIA, 1897
1898	227	608	ARCIA, 1898

Notes: See Jablow 1974 for identification of many primary sources. ARCIA refers to the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year indicated.

BLACK
HILLS

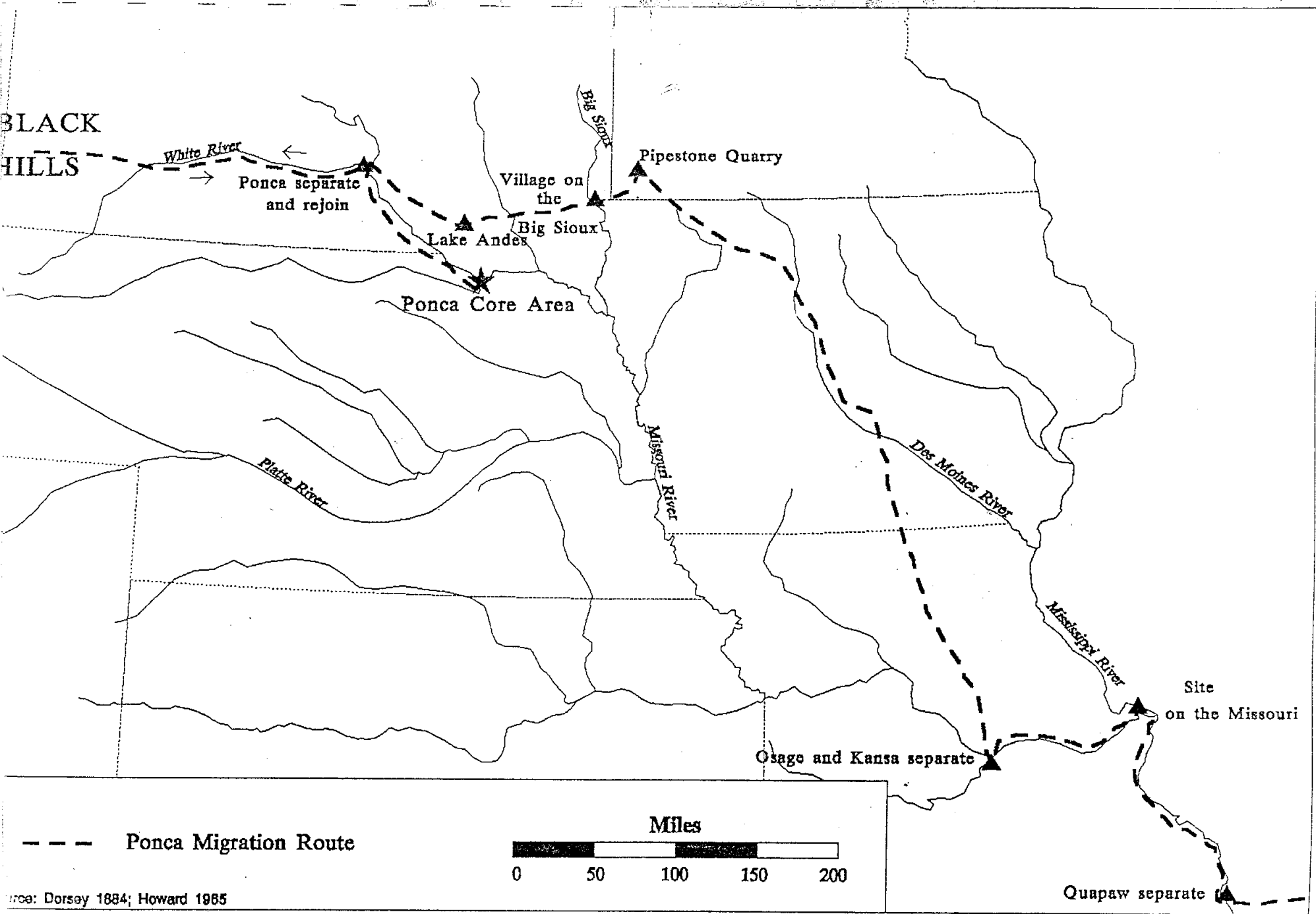


Figure 3-1: Ponca Migration

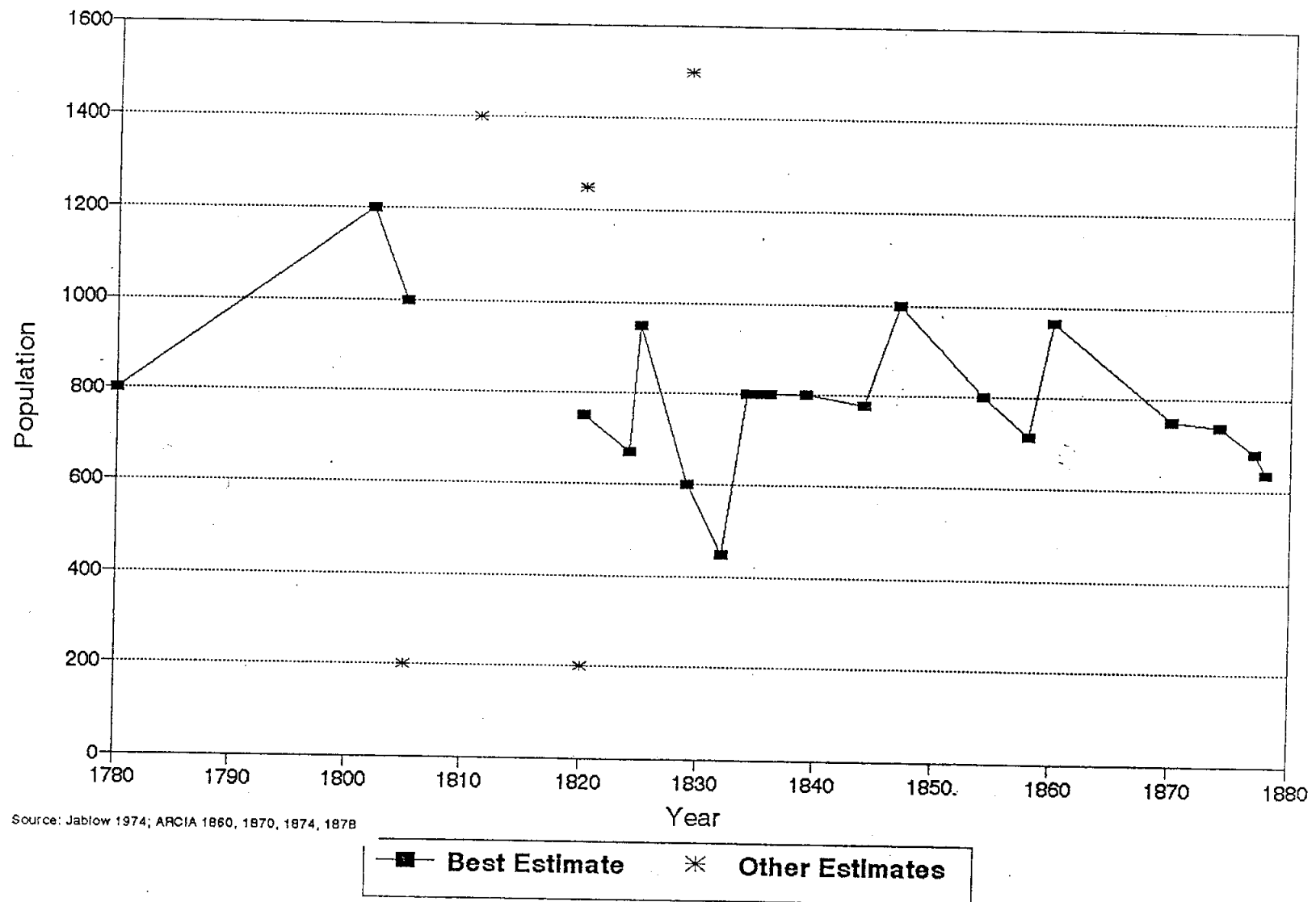


Figure 2: Ponca Population 1780-1878
3-2

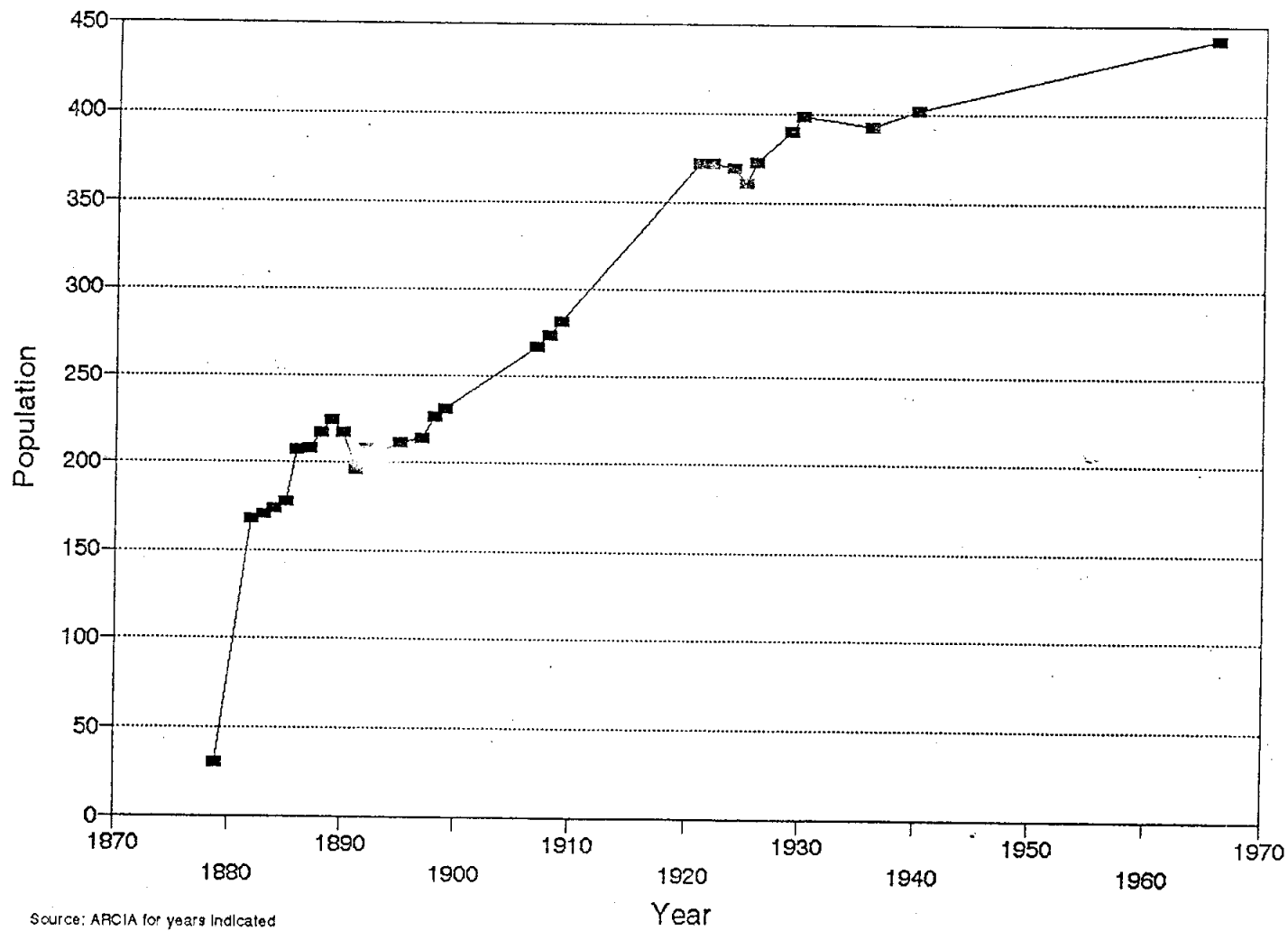


Figure 4: Northern Ponca Population

3-3

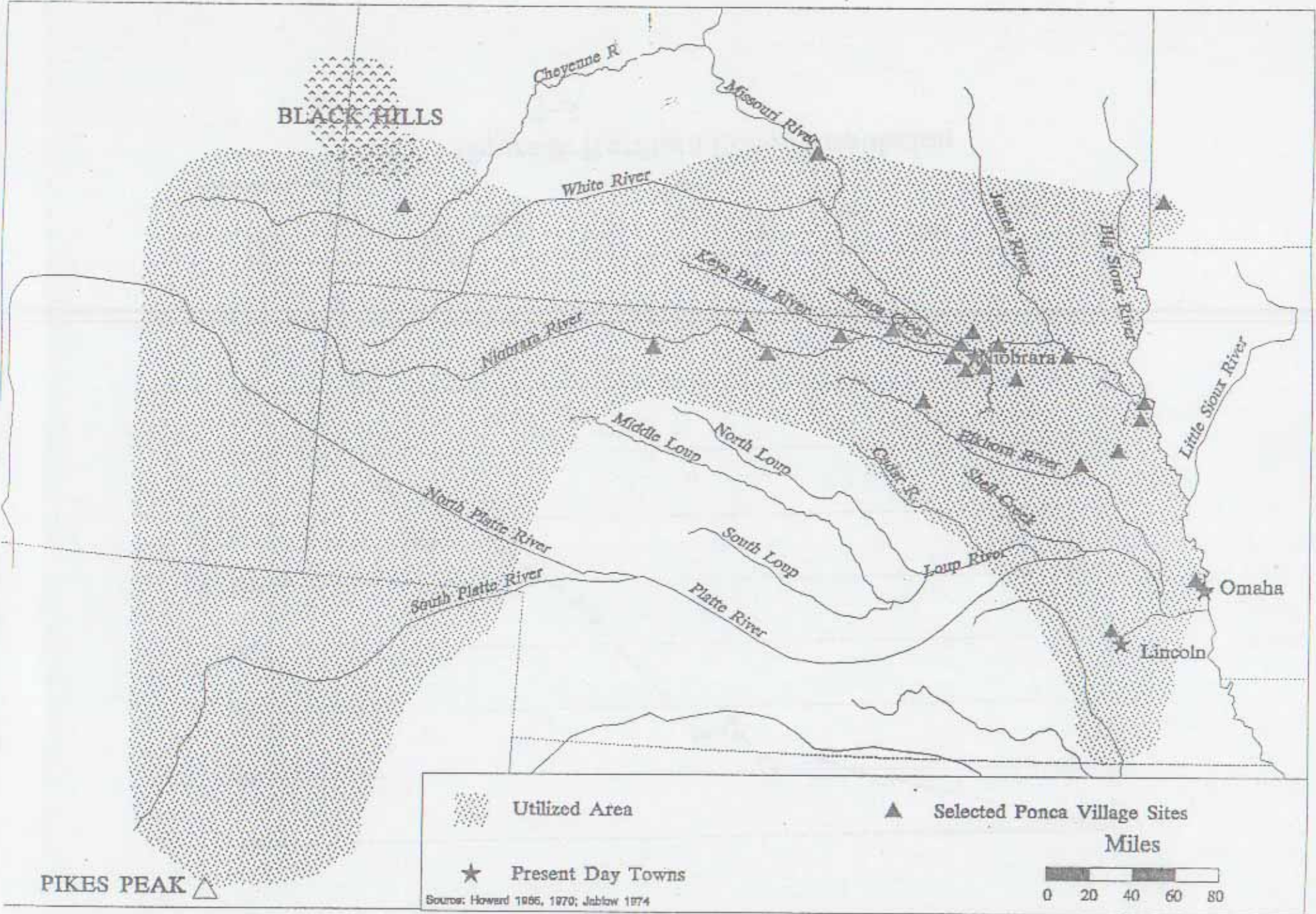


Figure 3-4. Area Utilized by the Ponca at the Time of First Contact

3-4

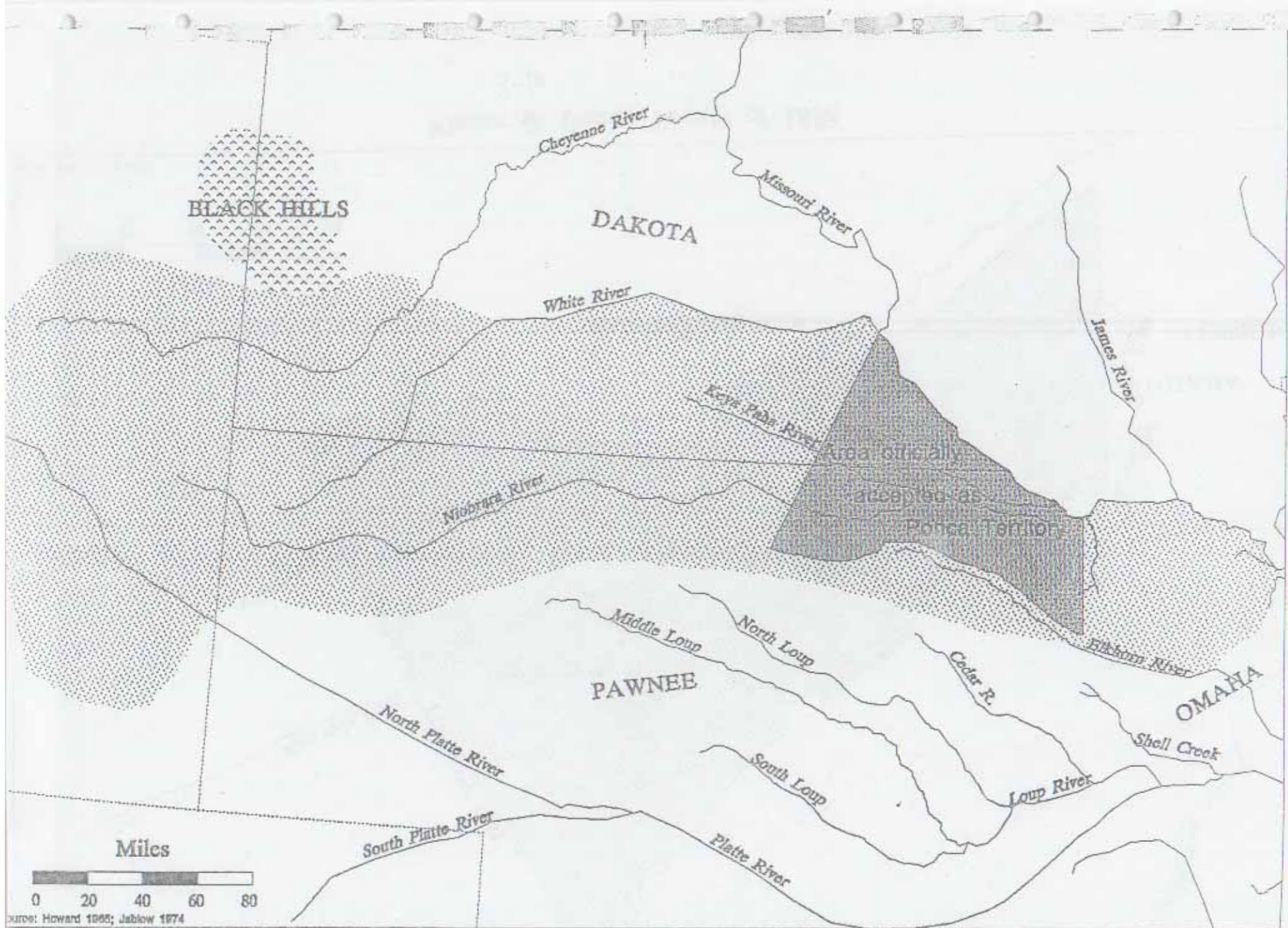


Figure 4: Traditional Hunting Territory Claimed by the Ponca

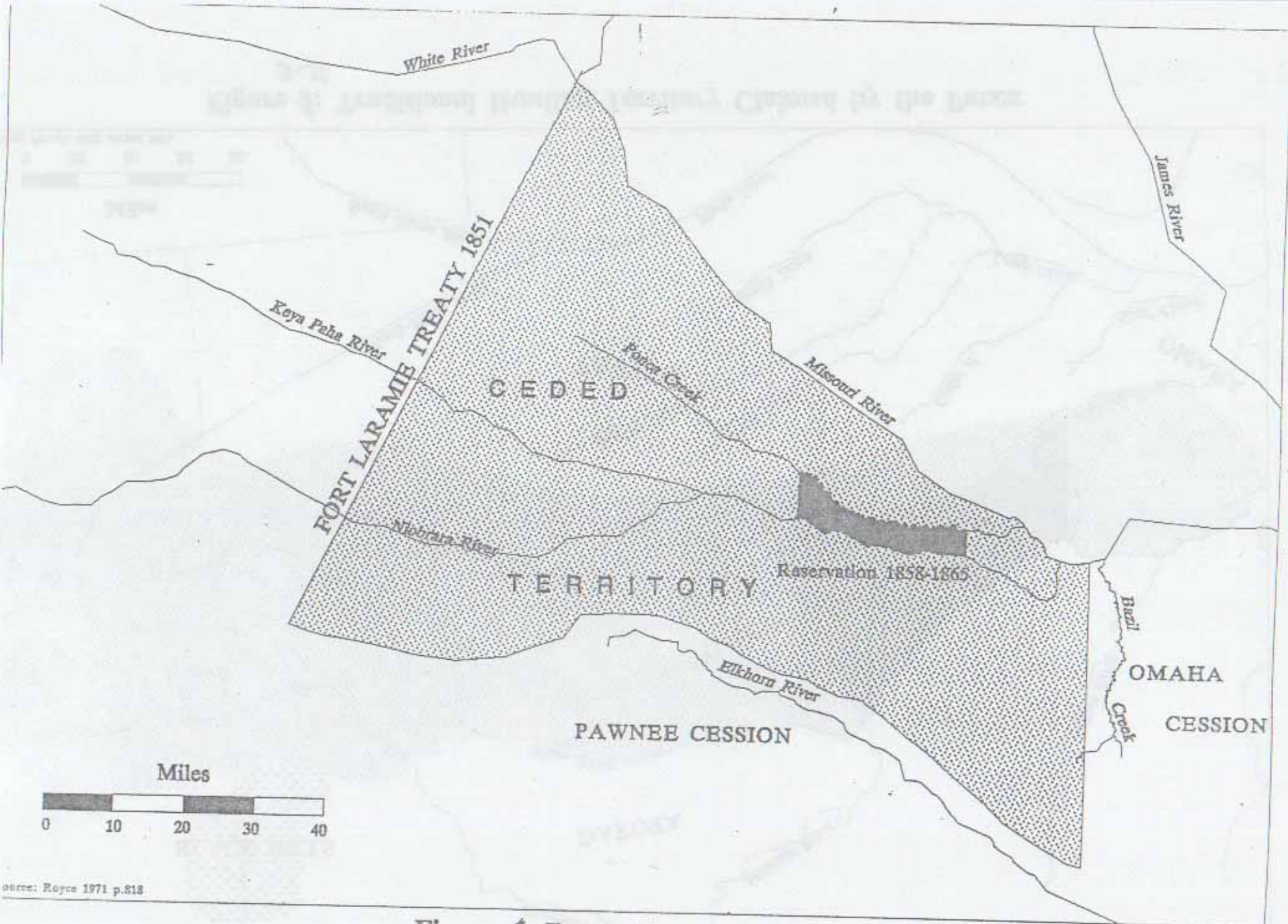


Figure 4: Ponca Treaty of 1858

3-6

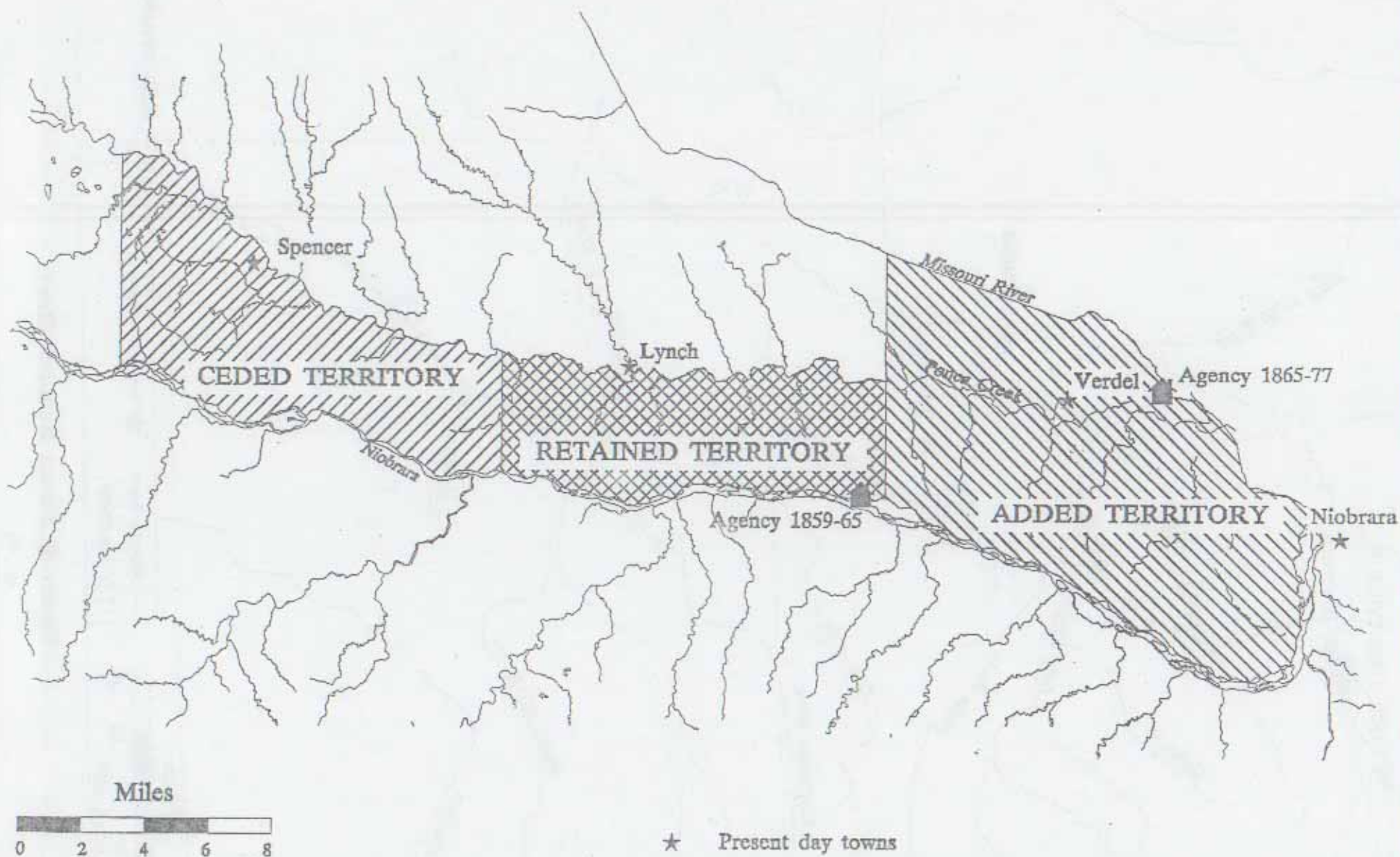


Figure 1: Ponca Treaty of 1865

3-7

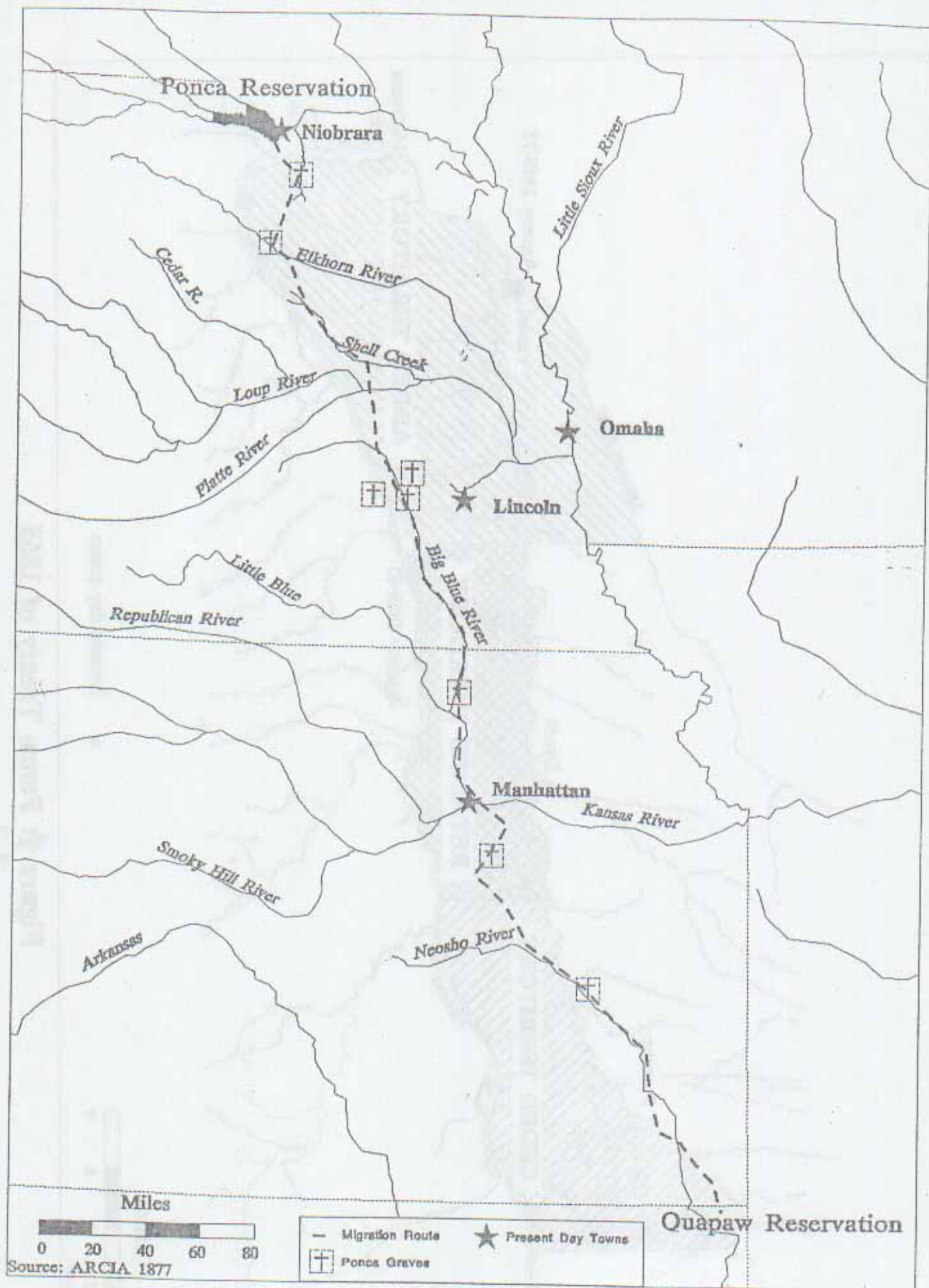
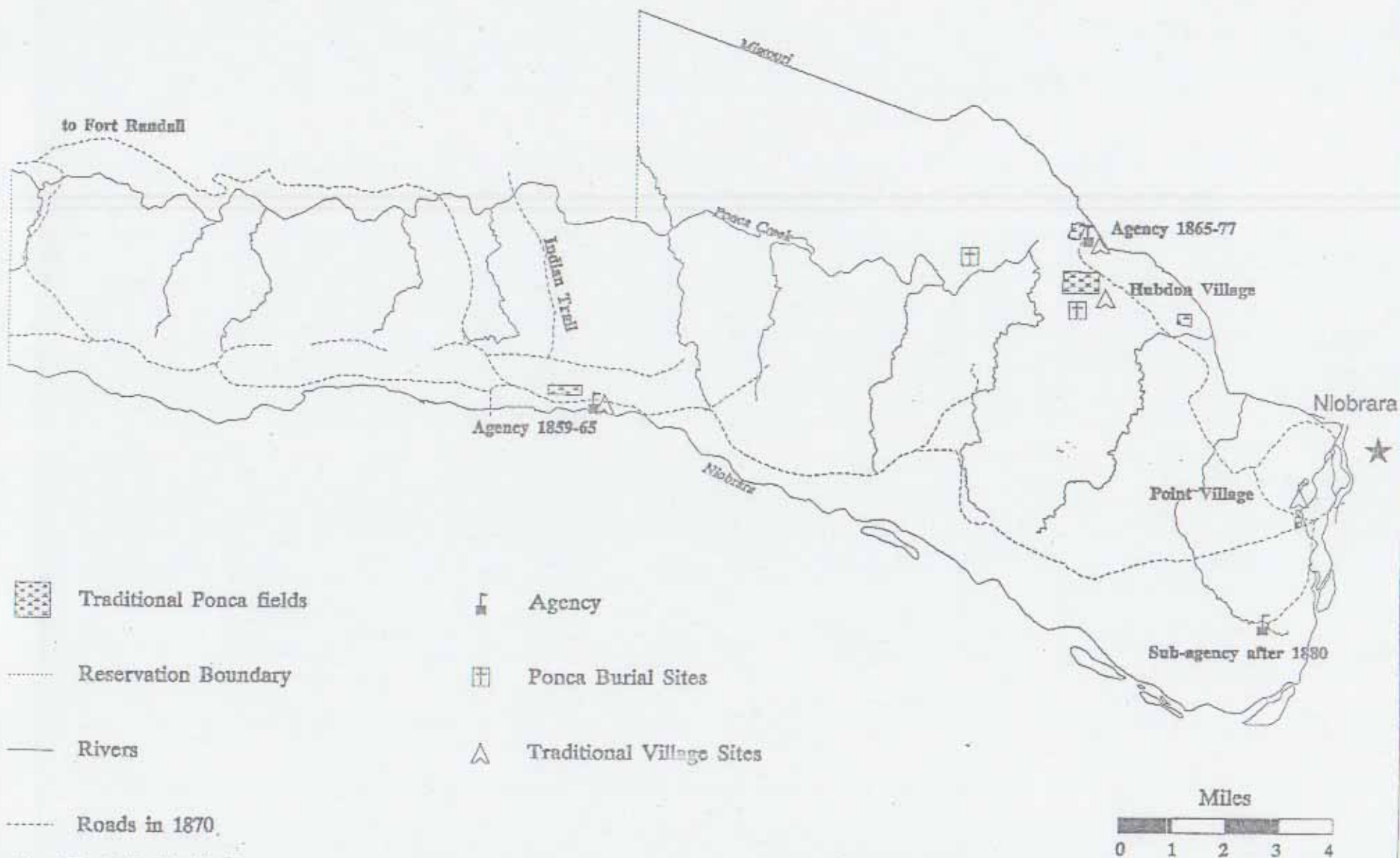


Figure 3-9 Ponca Removal Route



Source: General Land Office Township Plats

Figure 3: Cultural Landscape in the late 1800s

3-9

[Last revised: 6 July 1995]

CHAPTER 4

ETHNONYMY OF THE SIOUX

Thomas D. Thiessen

A great deal of confusion exists in the literature about appropriate names for the Sioux as a group and for various linguistic, political, and geographic divisions of the Sioux. A plethora of bewildering names have been applied to the Sioux as a whole and to each of the seven major cultural subdivisions of the Sioux, as well as for the many further subgroupings and bands. The Sioux, or large segments of them, are commonly and variously called Sioux, Dakotas, Lakotas, Nakotas, Santees, or Teton to distinguish them from more distant linguistic kinsmen such as the Chiwere-speaking tribes (Winnebagos, Ioways, Otos, and Missouriias); the Dhegiha-speakers (Omahas, Poncas, Quapaws, Osages, Kansas); and others who speak languages classified within the Siouan language family (such as Assiniboin, Mandans, Hidatsas, Crows, and others). The problem is compounded by the frequent combination of these names together, such as Teton Lakotas, Santee Dakotas, Dakota Sioux, and the like, or combined with geographic descriptors or more specific subdivision names for the Sioux, such as Western Teton, Eastern Dakotas, Middle Sioux, Oglala Dakotas, etc. The combination of these terms often results in a degree of redundancy in meaning, as, for example in the case of "Eastern Dakotas," in which both terms may be taken to designate the Eastern, or Santee, division of the Sioux. An explanation of some of these terms, and their various usages in this report, follows.

The term *Siouan* most commonly refers to a broadly related group of languages, called a linguistic family or stock, comprised of a relatively large number of tribes, or groups of tribes, that speak distantly related, but mutually unintelligible, languages. It is generally presumed that the tribes comprising a linguistic family at some time in the distant past shared a common language, and that the processes of cultural and linguistic change through time have caused these groups to become more and more divergent from each other both linguistically and culturally. Consequently, the Siouan linguistic family may be said to be comprised of the Sioux, the Dhegiha-speaking branch (Omahas, Poncas, Quapaws, Osages, Kansas), the Chiwere-speaking branch (Winnebagos, Ioways, Otos, and Missouriias), the Northern Plains groups (Mandans, Hidatsas, Crows, Assiniboin), and several other non-Plains tribes in the southeastern United States. The term *Siouan* was first applied to these groups by Albert Gallatin (1836), and remains purely a broad linguistic designation.

47 The name *Sioux*, is used to collectively designate the
48 speakers of three dialects of a single language: Dakota, Nakota,
49 and Lakota. The term Sioux is a corruption of an Ojibway name
50 variously given as *nadowe-ssi-wag* (Powell in Holder 1966:187),
51 *Natawesiwck* (Howard 1980:2), *Nadouessioux* (Swanton 1952:280) or
52 *Nadoussioux* (O'Callaghan 1855:153), *Naduesiu* or *nadowe-is-iw-ug*
53 (*Hodge 1912,2:577; Powers 1975:5*), and other variations.
54 *Naduesiu* is the form that appears in the earliest written
55 reference to the Sioux, contained in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1640
56 and based on information gathered by the Frenchman, Jean
57 Nicollet, some years earlier (*Thwaites 1898:231*). The shortened
58 name *Scioux* appears in French records at least by 1736
59 (*O'Callaghan 1855:1055*) and probably considerably earlier.
60 Applied to the Sioux by their Algonkian-speaking enemies, the
61 Ojibwas, the term is regarded as having both diminutive and
62 perjorative connotation, meaning lesser "adders," "snakes," or,
63 generally, "enemies" (*Hodge 1912,2:577; Swanton 1952:280; Powell*
64 *in Holder 1966:187; Howard 1980:2; Powers 1975:5*). The original
65 Ojibwa term distinguished the Sioux from the "real adders," the
66 Iroquois, also enemies of the Ojibwas (*Powers 1975:5*).¹ Because
67 of its perjorative meaning and the fact that it is derived from a
68 non-Sioux name, some writers have preferred not to use the term
69 Sioux (e.g., *Powell in Holder 1966:188*), but the name is probably
70 the term most widely used today to collectively designate the
71 speakers of the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota dialects. Indeed, it
72 is a name often used by Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota speakers to
73 designate themselves when speaking English (*Powers 1975:9;*
74 *Steltenkamp 1993:3*). For example, the formal corporate names for
75 the Sioux groups in the NIMI area are "Santee Sioux Tribe of
76 Nebraska" and "Yankton Sioux Tribe."

77 By what name do the Sioux call themselves in their own
78 language? The Sioux have a tradition of having called
79 themselves, in their original Minnesota homeland, *Oceti Sakowin*,
80 which translates as "the Seven Fireplaces" or "the Seven Council
81 Fires," referring to seven villages or divisions of the tribe
82 (*Riggs 1852:vii; Howard 1980:3; Powers 1975:3-5*).

83 Another name for the Sioux, *Dakota* (also variously spelled
84 *Dahcota*, *Dakotah*, and other ways), is widely used among Indians
85 and non-Indians alike. An early classifier of American Indian
86 languages, Albert Gallatin (1836), applied the Sioux word
87 *Dahcota*, meaning "friend" or "ally," to the "Dakota tribes proper
88 as distinguished from the other members of the linguistic family
89 who are not Dakotas in a tribal sense" (*Powell in Holder*

90 ¹ Goddard (1980:105) gives a different interpretation of
91 *Nadouessioux* and the names it derives from. He believes that it
92 is derived not from an Algonquian form for "snake," but from
93 *na-towe*, meaning "Iroquoian." Hence, he renders the root of the
94 Gallicized *Nadouessioux* as "speaker of a foreign language."

1966:188; all three dialectal names have essentially similar meanings--see Powers 1975:16-17), meaning the Sioux. John Wesley Powell, whose 1891 classification of American Indian languages is still a key reference today, seconded Gallatin's use of the name Dakota. The term is often still used in much this sense, although strictly speaking, Dakota refers to one of three language dialects, not to a politically or ethnically defined group of people. Thus, as Powers (1975:8, 11) points out, "Most of the constituent members of Powell's Dakota subclass theoretically could not even say Dakota, much less be one." Consequently, strictly speaking, it is proper to speak of Dakota speakers, but not of Dakotas as a cultural group. Nevertheless, the term has achieved considerable currency among speakers of all three dialects as a name for the cultural group widely termed the Sioux, and that usage is followed in some of the succeeding sections of this overview, in deference to the preference of individual authors. In addition, many Santees follow a similar usage in referring to themselves as Dakotas and many Lakota speakers call themselves by the name of their dialect, *Lakotas*. These terms appear in that sense in some of the following sections of this volume. The term *Nakota* has been applied to the Middle Sioux peoples (Howard 1980:4; Lowie 1982:8), the Yanktons and the Yanktonais, but Raymond DeMallie (1982:xi) has pointed out that this usage is incorrect because the Yanktons and Yanktonais also call themselves Dakotas. He suggests that the name "Nakota" be used to designate only the Assiniboin, who at one time were part of the Yanktonais (Hodge 1912, 1:103; Swanton 1952:282, 387). Other terms that equate with Sioux, which have also come into general use though their use lacks substantial time depth, are *Sioux Nation*, *Great Sioux Nation*, *Dakota Nation*, and *Great Dakota Nation*. Again, because of individual authors' preference, some of these terms will also be found in succeeding discussions of this overview. Use of dialectal terms to designate cultural rather than linguistic groups is not improper except in the strictest sense, but rather is an example of linguistic change, i.e., of how word meanings and forms change through time in any given language.

Although all of the Sioux groups believe that they resided near the headwaters of the Mississippi River in Minnesota at the time of first contact with Euroamericans, military pressure from Indian groups to the eastward, notably the Ojibwas, as well as the attractions of the Plains environment of western Minnesota and further west--a region with which at least a part of the Sioux probably were acquainted for a long time before their exodus from the woodlands (White 1978:321-322; Wood 1985; Michlovic 1985)--impelled portions of the Sioux to move southward and westward of their homeland, probably in the latter part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (White 1978). Thus, the Sioux split into three geographical divisions, each speaking a different language dialect: the Eastern Sioux or Santees (Dakota

145 speakers), the Middle Sioux (Nakota speakers), and the Western
146 Sioux or Tetons (Lakota speakers).

147 The original "Seven Fireplaces," or villages, were
148 individually called:

149 *Mdewakantonwan* or *Mdewkanton*, translated variously as
150 "Spirit Lake People" (Howard 1980:3), "Spirit Lake
151 village" (Powell in Holder 1966:190), and "mystery lake
152 people" (Hodge 1912, 1:826), referring to Mille Lacs
153 Lake in east-central Minnesota

154 *Wahpekute*, translated as "Shooters Among the Leaves" (Hodge
155 1912, 2:890; Howard 1980:3)

156 *Sisitonwan* or *Sisseton*, translated as "People of the Boggy
157 Ground" (Howard 1980:3) or "lake village" (Hodge 1912,
158 2:580) (Powers 1975:22 points out that the literal
159 meaning of root of this name denotes an association
160 with the smell or sliminess of fish, an allusion to
161 poverty)

162 *Wahpetonwan* or *Wahpeton*, translated as "Dwellers Among the
163 Leaves" (Hodge 1912, 2:891; Howard 1980:3) or "Leaf
164 village" (Powell in Holder 1966:191)

165 *Ithanktonwan* or *Yankton*, translated as "Dwellers at the End
166 Village" (Howard 1980:3), "end village" (Hodge 1912,
167 2:988), and "End Dwellers" (Powers 1975:22)

168 *Ithanktonwana* or *Yanktonai*, translated as "Little Dwellers at
169 the End" (Howard 1980:3), "little-end village" (Hodge
170 1912, 2:990), and "Little End Dwellers" (Powers
171 1975:22)

172 *Titonwan* or *Teton*, translated as "Dwellers on the Plains"
173 (Howard 1980:3, 20) or "dwellers on the prairie" (Hodge
174 1912, 2:736) and "prairie dwellers" (Powers 1975:23)

175 After the Sioux movements began, the first four
176 "Fireplaces," the *Mdewkantons*, *Wahpekutes*, *Sissetons*, and
177 *Wahpetons*, remained in Minnesota and came to be called the
178 *Isanyati* or *Santees* ("Dwellers at the Knife Lake" [Howard
179 1980:3]), or Eastern division of the tribe. The *Yanktons* and
180 *Yanktonais* (*Wiciyela*, or "Those Who Speak Like Men" [Howard
181 1980:3]) became the Middle division, and the *Tetons* became the
182 Western division.

183 The *Tetons*, though originally only one of the "Seven
184 Fireplaces," evolved into the classic form of Plains Indian
185 nomads and became distributed over the vast part of the Plains

186 region. Mirroring the original Sioux organization of seven
187 villages, the Tetons were subdivided into seven groups:

188 *Oglala*, translated as "they scatter their own" or "to
189 scatter one's own" (Hodge 1912, 2:109; Powers 1975:26;
190 Howard 1980:20)

191 *Sicangu* (or *Brulé*, a French term) translated as "Burned
192 Thighs" (Hodge 1912, 2:564; Powers 1975:26; Howard
193 1980:20)

194 *Hunkpapa*, translated as "Campers at the Horn, or End of the
195 Camp Circle" (Powers 1975:26; Howard 1980:20; Hodge
196 1912, 1:579 also gives its meaning variously as "at the
197 entrance," "at the head end of the circle," "those who
198 camp by themselves," and "wanderers")

199 *Mnikowoju* or *Minneconjou* or *Miniconjou*, translated as
200 "Planters beside the Stream" (Powers 1975:26), "those
201 who plant beside the stream" (Hodge 1912, 1:868), or
202 "Planters-beside-the-water" (Howard 1980:20; Howard
203 also gives the name *Hohwodzu* for this group)

204 *Itazipco* or *Itazipcho* (or *Sans Arcs*, a French term),
205 translated as "Without Bows" (Hodge 1912, 1:625; Powell
206 in Holder 1966:191; Powers 1975:26) or "Those-without
207 bows" (Howard 1966:20)

208 *Oohenunpa* or *Oohenonpa*, translated as "Two Kettles" or "Two
209 Boilings" (Hodge 1912, 2:136; Powell in Holder
210 1966:191; Powers 1975:26; Howard 1980:20)

211 *Sihasapa*, translated as "Blackfoot" (Powers 1975:26; Howard
212 1980:20) or "Blackfeet" (Hodge 1912, 2:568; Powell in
213 Holder 1966:191)

214 The last five subgroups of the Tetons are also called the
215 Saones, a term which Powers (1975:27) translates as a corruption
216 of "forest dwellers" rather than the more commonly accepted
217 meaning, "Shooters among the trees."

218 Peoples from each of the three primary Sioux divisions--the
219 Santees of the Eastern Sioux, the Yanktons of the Middle Sioux,
220 and the Brulés and Oglalas of the Western Sioux--have a close
221 historical or contemporary association with the NIMI region.
222 They are further and separately discussed below.

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CHAPTER 5

YANKTONS

Leonard Bruguier

INTRODUCTION

One of the three tribes that reside in the NIMI region is the Yankton Tribe of South Dakota, whose reservation is located along the Missouri River in Charles Mix County, South Dakota. The Yanktons, originally one of the Seven Council Fires of the Dakota Nation in central Minnesota, have lived in the southeastern South Dakota-northwestern Iowa region for over two centuries. This chapter will summarize Yankton history before the establishment of their reservation, and will describe aspects of traditional Yankton culture. The history of the Yanktons following establishment of their reservation in 1858 is reviewed in Chapter 7.

HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The American Indian linguist and ethnologist Ella C. Deloria (1889-1971), a member of the *Ihanktonwan* tribe, devoted over fifty years of her life to compiling and interpreting ethnographic materials among her people (Murray 1974; Medicine 1989; Bruguier 1989). She collaborated with Franz Boas on translating and revising data already collected on the *Dakotas/Lakotas/Nakotas* (Deloria 1978).

Pioneer lexicographers Samuel and Gideon Pond came to Fort Snelling, Wisconsin Territory, in 1834. The Pond brothers, assisted by missionary Stephen R. Riggs, produced *Dakota* as a written language. Coupled with the help of Gabriel Renville, a *Sisseton* leader, they expanded their works to include school and prayer books, a *Dakota Grammar and Dictionary*, the *Bible*, and other religious tracts published in *Dakota* (Riggs 1973 1992).

Robinson's volume (Robinson 1904a) contains important data on experiences of the Sioux tribes from before contact through the end of the nineteenth century (Hoover 1979:1). Woolworth prepared a report (Woolworth 1974) to present to the Indian Claims Commission which supplies information concerning territorial boundaries and welfare of the Yanktons before hostilities broke out in the 1850s (Hoover 1979:1).

Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* discusses the elder Little Crow, Wabasha II, and two Yanktons who were important during the first half of the nineteenth century (Hoover 1979). Royal B. Hassrick has published

42 *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (Hassrick 1964),
43 a highly readable, comprehensive description of Sioux culture. In
44 this chapter, information from these publications is combined with
45 oral history and interview data obtained during the course of
46 research on the Yankton people.

47 ETHNONYMY

48 The *Dakota Oyate*, translated literally as "the allied people,"
49 are composed of seven tribes: the *Sisetonwan*, *Wahpekutewan*,
50 *Wahpetonwan*, *Mdewankantonwan*, *Ihanktonwan*, *Ihanktonwanna*, and
51 *Titonwan* (Beuchel 1970; Riggs 1992; Warcloud 1967; Williamson 1992)

52 From the earliest oral tradition the *Ihanktonwan* (Yanktons)
53 have called themselves "the People of the End Village" and "the
54 Friendly People." Both of these names may describe their relative
55 position in the exodus of the Seven Council Fires, prior to the
56 American Revolution, as they moved out into the southern plains and
57 woodlands of what are now the states of Iowa, Missouri, northern
58 Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, and North and South Dakota (Dorsey
59 1886).

60 CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

61 Included among the *Siouan* language family, depending on the
62 authority consulted, are the *Mandans*, *Hidatsas*, *Crows*, *Otos*,
63 *Assiniboinés*, *Ioways*, *Missouris*, *Omahas*, *Poncas*, *Osages*, *Kansas*,
64 *Sioux*, *Tutelos*, *Catawbás*, and others. The *Sioux* grouped themselves
65 into an alliance calling themselves the *Ocheti Sakowin* (translated
66 as "seven fires," seven "council fires," or tribes; see Table 5.1).
67 Deloria and other scholars theorize that the name *Dakota* was given
68 to them because "that dialect was the first to be recognized in
69 written form by Stephen Return Riggs in his study of the Santee
70 language" (Deloria 1983; Parks 1988).

71 Because the spoken languages of the three tribes differ
72 somewhat, linguists have broken the language of the *Sioux* into
73 three dialects: *Dakota*, *Lakota*, and *Nakota*. The dialects are
74 mutually intelligible and share an overwhelming majority of easily
75 recognizable words, especially those used in the Seven Sacred
76 Ceremonies. Variations existed, as in all languages, and were
77 ascribed to the need for new words to describe different flora,
78 fauna, and topography confronting the people as they changed
79 geographic locations. When Europeans arrived, the *Sioux* language
80 was equal to the task of making names to describe the many new
81 objects encountered. For example, a clock was a totally new
82 experience in appearance and function. The *Dakotas* had the word
83 iron, *maza*, for the appearance and they used the word *skanskan*,
84 literally mysterious movement, for its function. Thus
85 *mazaskanskan*, mysterious moving iron, is recognized as a clock.
86 Certain sacred ceremonial words, such as *Wakantanka* (Great Holy, or
87 Spirit), "the Creator of all things; also, all wakan beings because

they are all as one," (Beuchel 1970; Riggs 1992; Warcloud 1967; Williamson 1992) remained the same with all tribes of the *Ocheti Sakowin*, regardless of dialect.

ORIGIN AND MIGRATION TRADITIONS: FIRST EUROAMERICAN CONTACTS

The *Ihanktonwan* Dakotas do not believe their ancestors migrated to this hemisphere from Asia. Based on creation stories, the *Dakotas* believe their tribe originated in the upper northern plains at sacred sites clustered in South Dakota and Minnesota.

By the middle of the sixteenth century fragmentary reports from French explorers, priests, and traders, filtered back east to government officials in Quebec telling of the fierce *Sioux* warriors living west of the *Anishinaabeg* (Ojibway) (Woolworth 1974; Coffman 1992; Bannon 1970; Coues 1965; Howard 1972:283; Sansom-Flood 1986; Weatherford 1991; Zimmerman et al. 1981).

A map dated 1643 shows a lake designated as "Grand Lac des Nadouessiou [Great Lake of the Sioux]" where Lake Superior is today (Woolworth 1974:252; Winsor 1895). Louis Hennepin, a priest of the Recollect Order, was the first Frenchman to live for an extended time among the *Dakotas* (Cross 1938; Severin 1968:185-204; Thwaites 1903a). After a four and one-half month stay among the *Dakotas* in 1680 at their villages located at the *Bde Wakan* (Sacred Lake), Hennepin left a valuable record of *Dakota* lifestyles (written from his perspective), as they lived in the lakes and woodlands of Minnesota. Among his many observations there is no mention of horses or guns being owned by the *Dakotas*. Hennepin recorded a buffalo hunt noting they were on foot and armed with bow and flint-headed arrows.

Exact dates of the *Dakota* migration from the Mississippi woodlands is subject to ongoing speculation. Woolworth (1974) suggests that the *Anishinabeg* forced the *Dakotas* permanently from the Mille Lacs Lake area of Minnesota by the mid-eighteenth century. He is in general agreement with Robinson (1904) that the *Ihanktonwan* and *Ihanktonwanna* had separated and formed distinct tribes by 1680 and were in the process of expanding. Meyer differs somewhat in his opinion, deducing that the gradual movement of *Dakotas* was already underway "out onto the prairies since before Hennepin's [1680] visit and very likely [they] had only a few small bands left in their old territory" (Woolworth 1974:27; Meyer 1980:13). George E. Hyde agrees with the earlier estimates, finding that the *Yanktonais* (which at that time included the *Yanktons*), and the *Tetons*, moved west after the middle of the seventeenth century (Hyde 1937:3). Although there is some difference between these three assumptions, all agree that the *Titonwan* people were the first to move westward.

Howard maintains that the *Yanktons* were moving into eastern South Dakota by 1720. As the *Yanktons* moved westward into

southeastern South Dakota they confronted the Arikaras. Successful in battle, the Yanktons forced the Arikaras further north to the Knife River in South Dakota. Southeastern South Dakota has since been regarded as "traditional" Yankton territory (Howard 1972).

On the foggy morning of August 30, 1804, a historic meeting between the Lewis and Clark expedition and the Yanktons took place as the expedition camped on Calumet Bluff near the present site of the Gavins Point Dam powerhouse and prepared to parley with the Indians. For the Yanktons, another significant event happened that day. As befitting legendary figures, *Struck By the Ree's* first encounter with the non-Indian is cloaked in legend. Oral tradition recounts that he was born and presented to the Lewis and Clark Expedition members (August 1804) when they visited the *Ihanktonwan* on their journey up the Missouri River. The future leader grew to manhood learning his skills from his elders *Wahhaginga* (Little Dish), *Matosabechea* (Smutty Bear), *Chaponge* (Mosquito), and *Xuyenonke* (War Eagle), men who helped lead the Yankton tribe in the struggles with the *Omahas*, *Ioways*, *Otoes*, and *Pawnees* over lands in northeast Iowa (Sansom-Flood 1986).

DEMOGRAPHY

Using the Great Sioux Trail which heads south from the western end of the Great Lake of the Sioux, Pierre-Espirit Radisson and Medard Chouart des Groseillers visited among the "Nation of the Beefe or Buffalo," in 1661 (Woolworth 1974:252). The two men's account, although much debated by scholars, provides some of the first non-Indian ethnohistorical data on the *Dakotas*. They reported hearing of an Indian nation numbering over seven thousand men, that subsisted on corn and hunted the buffalo for meat. Early ethnohistoric accounts do not distinguish Yanktons or other bands within the Indian nation from "Sioux."

West and southward expansion of the *Dakota Oyate*, beginning in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, eventually encompassed an area of approximately one-quarter million square miles, including parts of Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and all of South Dakota. An estimated population of fifty thousand people, perhaps ten thousand of whom were warriors partially armed with smoothbore muskets and not yet completely mounted on horses, began their odyssey which eventually led to the control of a corridor six hundred miles wide, stretching from the Mississippi River westward to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains (Anderson 1980:24; Deloria 1989:22; Mekeel 1943:137-205; White 1978:321).

Marquette's *Relation* of 1670-1671 states there were no less than fifteen villages on and around Mille Lac (Champe 1974:254-255).

On August 27, 1804, the Lewis and Clark Expedition met with

the Yanktons nine miles up from the mouth of the James river. There were forty Sioux lodges in the camp with ten to fifteen Sioux in each lodge (Woolworth 1974:45).

In Lewis' *Statistical View* the Yanktons were described as having 80 lodges, 200 warriors, with a total of 700 people and occupied the James River and eastward to the Big Sioux (Woolworth 1974:46).

Maps from the Lewis and Clark Expedition indicated the lands then claimed by the Yanktons. One map, with a notation of 1,000 Yanktons, included the area east of the James River and across the Vermillion, Big Sioux, and up to Floyd's River (Woolworth 1974:49).

Aboriginal population figures are relatively difficult to reconstruct for the Yankton Sioux, because early Euro-American contacts seldom bothered to delineate "Yankton Sioux" from population estimates of the entire Sioux Nation. During the 19th century, with the treaty-making era, more definitive census materials become available. However, Woolworth (1974:206) questions the accuracy of many of the ethnohistoric population estimates, again, perhaps reflecting the "fluidity" of movement between bands and also the seasonal subsistence cycle (e.g. communal bison hunting). Table 5.2 shows population estimates between 1806 and 1898. Generally speaking, the Yankton Sioux population is estimated to range between 2,000 to 3,000 individuals throughout the first half of the nineteenth century (Woolworth 1974:228). The Yanktons were reportedly devastated by the 1837 smallpox epidemic, but little documentation exists regarding the consequences of other epidemics which undoubtedly impacted Yankton populations.

TRIBAL TERRITORY/GEOGRAPHY

Omaha, Ioway, and Ponca oral traditions recorded in 1888 by J. Owen Dorsey revealed that their people were forced from their villages, established along the Des Moines River to the Red Pipestone Quarries, by the Yanktons. Scholars speculate that this expulsion occurred sometime during the second half of the seventeenth century (Hyde 1937:9-11; Dorsey 1886:218-219; White 1978:341-342; ARCIA 1858).

Further expansion from the Pipestone Quarry region by the Dakotas brought them once again up against the riverine tribes, the Arikaras, remnants of Ioway and their allies who were settled permanently along the Big Sioux and James rivers and on their confluences with the Missouri River (Howard 1972). But these peoples proved to be a nominal obstacle to the Dakotas, who were drawn by two benefits that lured them onto the plains, the bison and, ironically, the permanent settlements of agricultural tribes which functioned as trading centers. With the horse, purchased or stolen from the Arikaras whose fortified villages clustered around

226 the Big Bend of the Missouri River in present-day South Dakota, and
227 other bands of Indian traders moving north from the southwest, *pte*
228 (bison) became more accessible, allowing complete mobility and
229 freedom within the region. The riverine tribes served two
230 purposes: providing vegetables and other foodstuffs that *Dakotas*
231 previously grew or tended in the woodland environment; and further,
232 serving as a permanent trading center visited regularly by traders
233 coming upriver from Saint Louis (Abel 1968; Brown 1989:68, 118;
234 Meyer 1977; Will and Hyde 1964).

235 The *Dakotas*, who in the latter part of the seventeenth century
236 and early eighteenth, were still canoemen, realized that trade with
237 the Frenchmen, which was heavily dependent on the river for
238 transporting goods, was accessible in any country that had rivers
239 and streams. But with the addition of the horse, they obtained the
240 element needed for greater mobility. In effect, their decisions to
241 move onto the plains were pragmatic and consensual (White 1978:160-
242 161).

243 Great Sioux trade fairs were located between the Missouri and
244 Mississippi trading posts. One meeting-place often mentioned by
245 early travellers was located below the headwaters of the James
246 River, the eastern border of traditional Yankton territory, where
247 the tribes of the Seven Council Fires came together once a year.
248 The western groups brought "horses, lodges of leather, buffalo
249 robes, shirts and leggings of antelope-skin" to trade for "guns,
250 kettles, red pipes, and bows of walnut" (Abel 1968:122-123; Hyde
-251 1937:8; 1974:19-21; Robinson 1904b:21; White 1978:324-327).

252 The exact date that the Yanktons moved into southeastern South
253 Dakota is unknown. Jean Baptiste Truteau, while at the mouth of
254 White River on September 30, 1794, observed three Yankton families
255 with a Teton hunting party. Woolworth feels that the Yanktons were
256 then only superficially hunting that area, and not in large numbers
257 (Woolworth 1974:37).

258 Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, who traded in the vicinity of Cedar
259 Island, complained of the small amount of beaver skins that the
260 Yanktons, hunting in the area of St. Peters River, had brought to
261 trade in 1804. This would indicate that game had already become
262 overhunted east of the Missouri which would further enhance the
263 territory westward for the Yanktons.

264 After the horse was integrated into their lifestyle, tribes
265 were not dependent on maintaining their own permanently established
266 villages. *Sunkawakan* was truly a gift to an inherently gregarious
267 people, expediting their need to maintain relationships with other
268 tribes. The *Dakotas* moved continually while hunting, visiting, and
269 living with relatives and friends across hundreds of miles. In
270 their enlarged cultural complex, they depended on food sources at
271 known locations. Their movements coincided with harvesting times
272 (Picotte 1968).

273 After this migration they often returned to the old camps
274 east of the river during the eighteenth century to hunt, fish, and
275 trap when necessity dictated.

276 The Yanktons adopted the seasonal and settlement patterns of
277 the Arikaras they displaced. The Yanktons joined in the two
278 annual tribal bison hunts in the spring and fall. Crops were
279 planted before the spring hunt and harvested after they returned
280 from the hunt. Fishing also comprised a significant portion of
281 their diet, especially during spring and summer. At other times
282 hunting was done in small groups. The Yanktons' large, permanent
283 villages were on the Missouri and James rivers (Howard 1972).

284 However, the Yanktons did not stop at the James River:
285 As of 1830, the Yankton were hunting west of the Missouri
286 river and up the valleys of the White and Niobrara rivers,
287 and southward to the north fork of the Platte river. At
288 about this same time, the main body of the Yankton centered
289 themselves near Fort Lookout which was on the north bank of
290 the Missouri river and above the mouth of the White river.
291 Other Yanktons were further north along the Missouri, about
292 a distance of 250 miles above the mouth of the Vermillion
293 river. (Woolworth 1974:200-201)

294 This also reflects the Euroamericans' search for more land as they
295 push west as well as the overhunted lands.

296 Scarcity of game escalated during the 1840s in southeastern
297 South Dakota and by this time the Yanktons rarely hunted east of
298 the Missouri River (Woolworth 1974:200-201).

299 SUBSISTENCE

300 The *Dakotas* were a modified hunting-gathering people,
301 utilizing both plant and animal foods found within the cultural
302 complex they inhabited. After their arrival in the vast and varied
303 environment of the Wisconsin and Minnesota woodlands, including
304 eastern portions of North and South Dakota, northern Iowa, and
305 eastern Nebraska, new foods were added to their diets. Maize, an
306 ancient food grown and traded by the *Dakotas*, was supplemented by
307 roots, stalks, and seeds of plants indigenous to the land. In
308 particular, nutritious rice grew abundantly in the wet, marshy land
309 found east of the 98th meridian and became a staple in their diet
310 (Densmore 1974; Gilmore 1919; Jenks 1919; Sculley 1971; Webb
311 1986:239-241). Tobacco for routine smoking and sacred rituals was
312 grown by the men. Sweet grass and sage, two plants that emit
313 pungent, sweet-smelling odors when burned or crushed, were picked
314 with respect and used in sacred ceremonies. Flat cedar, also used
315 to sweeten the air by burning, was easily obtainable. Protein was
316 obtained from bison, present in great numbers throughout the
317 Mississippi Valley, along with deer, bear, moose, and elk. Small
318 game such as rabbits, squirrels, and porcupine were hunted and

319 eaten in appropriate seasons. Ducks, geese, turkey, and prairie
320 chickens provided not only meat but eggs. Maple trees (on the
321 plains, box-elder) were tapped and sugar refined for use as a
322 sweetener in foods. Fish of many species abounded in the clear
323 cold waters of Minnesota's lakes and streams, affording a ready
324 source of food. Rivers and streams were filled with shellfish and
325 edible reptiles and amphibians such as turtles and frogs (though
326 not all tribes developed a taste for fish), and made them valuable
327 items in their diet (Blair 1969:166-167; Gillmore 1919:66; Thwaites
328 1903[a or b]:188). Oils rendered from the fat of bison, bear,
329 fish, and skunks were used for cooking and medicinal and cosmetic
330 purposes (Cross 1938:107; "The Engages" 1989:2-7; Gilmore 1919).

331 The exact decade when the horse was introduced to the Dakota
332 people is unknown but there is some evidence to suggest that
333 Indians of the northern plains were mounted by the middle of the
334 eighteenth century. When the Dakotas acquired the horse its
335 presence changed their worldview to the point where legends grew
336 around the magnificent animal.

337 American Indians were intimately acquainted with animals and
338 perhaps the shunka or dog, used for both practical and sacred use,
339 is an outstanding example. Dogs furnished security and provided
340 valuable protection by alerting the village when unknown animals or
341 people came near. Dogs ate discarded food and bones (but also
342 contributed their own form of refuse). When it came time to move
343 camp, they served as beasts of burden carrying household goods
344 lashed to travois or sleds. In times of famine, dogs provided
345 protein; certain sacred ceremonial feasts required dogmeat to feed
346 the participants.

347 It should not be surprising that the Dakotas would name their
348 horses *Sunkawakan*, or holy spirit dog. *Sunkawakan* placed different
349 and great demands on the people. Care for its physical needs and
350 its training, whether for hunting, as a war mount, or beast of
351 burden required specialized skills. The horse required more open
352 space where grass and water were plentiful. *Sunkawakan*
353 transformed the Dakota culture, opening challenging new vistas for
354 exploration and exploitation (Bol 1989; Coues 1965:475-477; Cross
355 1938:145, 148-149; Neihardt 1988:243; Schusky 1975:18-22).

356 TECHNOLOGY

357 Specialization depended as much on skill as the *tiyospaye's*
358 (band's) physical location. Trade and gift items depended on
359 materials that were present within the environs of the camp. Tribes
360 located near the copper deposits of the Western Great Lakes region
361 manufactured knives, axes, spearpoints, and other cutting-edged
362 implements for trade. Common items such as arrow shafts, bows,
363 flint, and copper arrowheads were continually in demand by hunters
364 and warriors. Basketmakers, fishnet makers, potters,
365 leatherworkers, canoe makers, and other artisans provided

utilitarian and cosmetic articles useful and necessary for the tribe (Cross 1938:99-100).

Female and male societies made songs for particular rituals and dances as did informal sewing or quilling groups. Drums were made of hollowed out cottonwood boles or handdrums with frames formed from thin willow saplings, then covered with hides. The drums, said to reproduce the heartbeat of mother earth, provided the most important accompaniment for the songs. Rattles made from skins, turtle shells, or gourds, courting flutes, eagle bone whistles, and sticks with deer dew claws attached were shaken or blown when appropriate. Implements made of iron, brass, and copper influenced the Dakotas in different ways. Lack of trained gunsmiths (or blacksmiths), and scarcity of replacement parts made simple repairs burdensome. These drawbacks did not stop the Dakotas from obtaining the weapons and incorporating them into their hunting, trapping, and warfare techniques (Ewers 1968:9-13, 34-44; Garavaglia and Worman 1984:343-360; Holder 1974:114-116; Russell 1957:1-61, 103-141).

Indian contributions to the European market system consisted chiefly of animal furs and meat, although many of their craft items such as baskets, beaded articles, including wampum belts, found their way back to Europe for personal and economic usage. But the non-renewable resource of animal life was seriously affected by the market system. For example, during periods of sustained European demand for beaver pelts, Indian trappers were very successful in meeting the challenge. In their zeal they contributed materially to the depletion of these fur-bearing animals in cultural areas by overharvesting the population.

Other metal implements were incorporated into Dakota households. Iron cooking kettles brought mixed results, although they did provide improvement on one traditional method of boiling food. Leather bags or buffalo stomach paunches were usually used for this purpose when earthen pots were not available. After the paunches were filled with water, meat, vegetables, and heated rocks were added until the food was cooked to satisfaction. If the metal pot cracked, repairing it was virtually out of the question. Oftentimes the pot was broken into pieces and the shards used to fashion arrowheads or scrapers.

SETTLEMENT

Between 1794-1804 the majority of Yankton Dakotas occupied the Upper Des Moine River. They had some gardens and in spring and early summer hunted bison on the prairies. After the fall hunt they wintered in sheltered areas along the Des Moines River in groves of trees which protected them from the winds. They utilized the wood for fuel in heating and cooking.

In 1805, Lt. Zebulon M. Pike stated that the Yanktons were

never settled, but travelled with the Teton Sioux. Pike also indicated that they followed the bison, utilizing its hide for clothing, tipis, and horse gear as well as its flesh for food. Pike said that the Yanktons had many horses and could travel 500 miles in ten days, feeling at home wherever they pitched their tipis (Woolworth 1974:51-52).

By the first half of the nineteenth century, the Yanktons searched the east banks of the Missouri River during the winter and spring months for beaver. They traded the beaver pelts for Euroamerican goods on which they were then dependent (Woolworth 1974:42).

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTION

It can be surmised that when the *Ihanktonwan* (perhaps aided by their relatives), evicted the *Omahas*, *Poncas*, and *Ioways* from their Des Moines and Pipestone Quarry villages they were undoubtedly pedestrian (Hyde 1937:16-18; Robinson 1904b:28). At this time they would have been armed with a few guns to supplement the traditional war weapons, the bow and arrow, hatchet, and war club (Hassrick 1964:70).

However, with the horse, *Dakotas* were suddenly empowered with the means to enlarge their culture and hunting areas and establish new *tiyospayes* when groups broke off and started new bands. In this cultural change, one finds the addition of new words, even dialects, to the basic language. In the different environments, reinterpretations of theology and cosmology by succeeding generations of people raised away from the old cultural climax center were completed. A splitting apart of a compact, dense culture occurred. With the mobility afforded by the horse, the *Dakotas* scattered over vast expanses of rolling plains covered with prairie grass. They shaped a new society of people who were astride horses, ten feet above the ground, a people whose horizons were expanded, both physically and mentally.

Tribes were known to pick up and move without hesitation, utilizing dogs and then horses to pull *travois* that carried the tipis and household goods. Movements which might cause difficulties to the *tiyospaye* required a consensus from a general council. All plans for tribal moves of this nature relied on thorough scouting beforehand after which reports were evaluated and discussed in general council. Once this phase was accomplished, a plan that ensured the most success was adopted and implemented. Warfare became the principal means of forcing the *Omahas*, *Ioways*, *Poncas*, and their allies from a favorable vicinity (Hyde 1937:11).

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In addressing each other, yesterday as today, *Dakota Oyate* used terms of kinship such as uncle, aunt, brother, or sister

rather than given names, recognizing their blood relationship first and foremost. Indians who joined the base blood extended family through marriage or adoption acquired kinship terms that recognized their status. *Koda* (friend), or *hunkaya*, to consider and honor as an ancestor, are kinship relations often accompanied by appropriate ceremonies that allow men and women to adopt an unrelated person as a friend or relative. The new relationship is frequently stronger than a blood relation, creating bonds that, in the extreme, call for protection unto death (Deloria 1983:23-25; Hassrick 1964:11-15, 107-120; Iktomi 1937:53-54; Riggs 1992:158).

Society's rules were kept by the *Akichita* (warriors) lodges. Justice was meted out summarily for violations; no knowledge of what constituted a jail existed among the people (Nasatir 1990, 1:300).

Sharing of all material and spiritual goods was equally important among *tiyospaye* members. The *tiyospaye* consisted of several related families within the band that hunted and lived together, and for organizational purposes was under the leadership of a "headman" (Grobsmith 1981:20,21). From Hare's (1912:322) remembrance, "not one of their number hungered while another had food; none of them went naked while another had a robe to spare; and none were shelterless while there [was] a tepee in sight." Children were rarely neglected (Chittenden 1905, 3:1059-1061 and 4:1283-1284; Cross 1938:154-156; Hare 1912:322).

Marriage and the courting rituals were a prominent part of *Dakota* life. Strong taboos existed, with incest or marriage to blood relatives forbidden. Marriages were usually arranged by families according to set customs, but men and women were not bound by these arrangements (Iktomi 1937:66-70). Courting rituals ranged from simple elopement to time-consuming consultation with elders or medicine men who offered advice and medicines to aid in the quest. Marriages between members of different tribes was not a foreign concept. *Dakota* women and men sought partners from other tribes for many reasons, but especially to escape the strong taboo against incest.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, marriage with non-Indian traders was a common although not completely accepted behavior among the *Dakotas*.

Usually a man who was a good provider took on extra wives, preferably a wife's sister or some woman in her family (sororal polygyny). Often interpreted as an economic arrangement to enhance a man's wealth, this usually amounted to no more than adding another pair of trained hands to assist with everyday chores. A man frequently took a deceased brother's wife (known as the "sororate") as his own so that she and her children were provided for and protected (Cross 1938:150-154; Deloria 1988:134-141; Fool Bull 1971:61; Gilmore 1919:70, 80, 98, 106; Hassrick 1964:121-138;

504 Iktomi 1937:69; McLaughlin 1989:59-76; Nasatir 1990, 1:257-259;
505 Thwaites 1903b:188).

506 Shared duties between genders, regardless of age group, were
507 numerous. When tribes or *tiyospayes* moved camp to engage in an
508 annual harvest, all members of the group had specific duties.
509 Those men not engaged in security or scouting roles participated in
510 other ways. Upon arrival and setup at the new camp, work on
511 harvesting, such as chokecherry or plum picking, commenced with all
512 members lending a hand. Other shared tasks included serving as
513 guides when game was herded into a surround or over a cliff. Once
514 this was accomplished, women, sometimes helped by men not engaged
515 in security duties, began the task of butchering the meat,
516 preparing it for curing, or if needed, transporting it back to the
517 basecamp. All members of the group, helped by dogs who were rigged
518 either with backpacks or small travois, shared carrying duties.

519 The principal duties of the elders of each *tiyospaye* involved
520 children to whom they provided daycare and continued education
521 covering all facets of life (Blair 1969:161-162; Fool Bull 1971:5;
522 Neihardt 1988:57).

523 ECONOMIC STRUCTURE: DIVISION OF LABOR AND SPECIALIZATION

524 Labor divisions are routinely described as gender-based.
525 Women owned all household goods and housing, including the tipi or
526 other shelter, and could only forfeit this right if they violated
527 rules accepted as the norm among the *tiyospaye* (Klein 1983:156-
528 157).

529 Ownership brought responsibilities surrounding the everyday
530 maintenance of the home. When the tribe changed campsites, it was
531 the womens' responsibility to take down the tipi when leaving, and
532 put it up in the designated location when they reached the next
533 site.

534 Preparation of meat involved dual duties; once the men field-
535 dressed the game and brought it back to camp, the women finished
536 butchering and cooked it. Fresh meat or fish not immediately
537 consumed, was sliced into thin strips and smoked if possible or
538 hung to dry over wooden racks or on cords fashioned from leather or
539 plant fiber and stretched between poles. Women were also
540 responsible for making *wakapanpi*, an extremely nutritious food made
541 of pounded meat mixed with marrow or fat. More commonly identified
542 as pemmican or *wasna*, Indian women used dried bison meat mixed with
543 fat and often sweetened the concoction by adding chokecherries,
544 plums, grapes, or other fruits or berries.

545 Making and repairing everyday and special occasion clothing
546 was usually a woman's responsibility. Quillworkers were therefore
547 dependent on women whose expertise included dressing and tanning
548 hides of superior quality. Historical records often point out

that women were primarily responsible for planting and harvesting maize and other fiber foodstuffs (Bol 1989; Coues 1965:475-477; Cross 1938:145, 148-149; Neihardt 1988:243; Schusky 1975:18-22).

Child-care was viewed as primarily a woman's duty, although the mother received help from male and female members of the *tiyospaye*.

Men's duties were equally diverse and considered of vital importance, including their demanding responsibilities as hunters, protectors, warriors, and decision-makers for the *tiyospaye* or tribe. Implicit in this division was the making and maintenance of weapons, traps, and ropes needed for hunting, fishing, trapping, and general use.

The horse changed the economics of traditional culture, bringing in the concept of wealth, measured in the numbers of horses owned. Material goods accumulated far more expeditiously as additional measures of wealth appeared, principally centered on the bison. With the addition of more horses, *tiyospaye* members were able to transport goods on larger, horse-drawn *travois* traditionally pulled by the dog. Men who owned muskets, another cherished item obtained with the accumulation of wealth, modified their weapons by cutting off a length of the barrel to suit the special requirements of hunting from atop a horse, even though they sacrificed long-range accuracy for this convenience (Denhardt 1947; Ewers 1968:3-5; Garavaglia and Worman 1984:346; Warren 1885:202).

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Seven Council Fires separated into three groups according to dialect and geographic location. The four *Ochetic Sakain Siouan* tribes first encountered by westward moving non-Indians were the *Dakotas*, also known as the *Isanti* (or the corruption, *Santee*). These were the *Sisseton*, *Wahpekute*, *Mdewankanton*, and *Wahpeton* who occupied lands on the eastern borders of the council fires. The second group consisted of the *Ihanktonwan* (corruption to *Yanktons*), and the *Ihanktonwanna* (*Yanktonai*), or 'Little *Yanktons*.' Together, they constituted the *Nakotas*, the middle or *wiceyena* division, of the three tribes and shared the middle lands of the nation. The third and largest group numerically were the *Lakotas*, composed of the *Oglala*, *Minneconjou*, *Oohenumpa*, *Hunkpapa*, *Sicangu*, *Sihasapa*, and *Itazipco*, who occupied the western lands (Murray 1974:20-21). Each of the tribes are further divided into *tiyospayes* (extended families), often called bands. These communities of extended families were collections of relatives through blood, marriage, adoption (including captives), and people of the same persuasion (traders who married into the tribes) integrated into the band. *Tiyospayes* were free to change tribal affiliation at any time. There was no arbitrary ruler or band chief enforcing unity (Beuchel 1970:406, 487, 491, 733; Deloria 1983:6-12; Riggs 1973:164).

595 The flexible (democratic) rules governing the *tiyospaye*
596 allowed disagreements to be resolved by one of several different
597 remedies. If an act merited group consideration, an appropriate
598 council convened. If one did not agree with the group's decision
599 or rules after mediation, then he was free to exercise a legitimate
600 method of expressing that difference. Voluntary removal to a
601 different location to start anew or join a like-minded *tiyospaye*
602 were two appropriate forms of expressing differences (Blair
603 1969:145-146; Bunge 1984:113-126; Hare 1912:322; Iktomi 1937:43-71;
604 Robinson 1904a:402-414) .

605 Both genders had formal and informal social and political
606 societies in which to participate. Organizations such as scouts,
607 horse raiding parties, or war teams were formed.

608 Primary responsibility for keeping the camp circle in order,
609 serving almost as a radio, was the *eyapaha* (crier), a man who was
610 detailed to walk or ride among the tipis announcing forthcoming
611 events. Part of *eyapaha* duties was control. As he walked and
612 announced, he also observed events. By his presence he acted as a
613 deterrant, but he also noted any potential problem or disorder that
614 might be harmful to the group. If a disturbance occurred, he
615 informed the *itancan* (headman) and a detail composed of an *akichita*
616 (soldiers or veterans) lodge would attempt to solve the problem,
617 informally if possible (Abel 1968:116-123; Thwaites 1903[a or
618 b]:189, 191).

619 Women assumed many additional duties when the men were off
620 hunting or raiding; thus, they were enabled to make decisions that
621 affected tribal members remaining in the camp circle.

622 There were also certain groups of men and women who were
623 travelers, though not organized formally, who moved around to stay
624 with *tiyospaye* of different tribes. They spent time with a group,
625 helping with various tasks, participating in everyday activities,
626 and at the same time passing on the *takushnishni oyaka* (talk
627 trifles, or gossip) before moving on to the next group. These
628 individuals were extremely important because they passed on news
629 that kept people informed about relatives who lived elsewhere
630 (Deloria 1983:23-26; Hassrick 1964:3-31; Robinson 1910:402-408;
631 Walker 1982:62-63).

632 Leadership was not inherited, it was earned. Expertise in one
633 area of endeavor did not give one claim to overall leadership
634 responsibilities; men and women were chosen to lead in situations
635 where they had previously achieved success. Overall leadership in
636 Dakota Oyate society generally devolved to the eldest male, a man
637 who lived and practiced the tenets of the four cardinal virtues.
638 Leadership was accomplished by moral suasion, oratorical skill, and
639 example. Because tribal decisions were consensual, men or women
640 who were most adept at finding the middle ground of an argument and
641 articulating it to the council held important positions in the

642 tribe.

643 One aspect of leadership hinged on the *Dakota* virtue of
644 generosity, the notion that one must share all material objects
645 with those who have less or are in need (Clifton 1977:66-68;
646 Robinson 1910:402-403; Wabasha 1972).

647 LIFE CYCLE

648 The Sioux did not have strict legalistic boundaries for who
649 belonged or did not belong to a family. Yet, related through
650 descent, there was a sense of relatives and an individual was not
651 left as an outsider. The nuclear family was part of the *tiyospaye*
652 and the family's duties and benefits were performed and received
653 within that affiliation (Hassrick 1964:107,108).

654 Proper behavior was dictated by familiarity, reciprocity,
655 gender, and generation. Familiarity or respect was the most
656 important guide in behavior towards others; second, another's
657 behavior toward you would indicate appropriate behavior; third, sex
658 of the other; and, fourth, the age group of the other helped guide
659 one toward proper conduct (Hassrick 1964:114).

660 The male lineal family (grandfather, father, and son) were the
661 basis of the *tiyospaye* and band organization. This lineal family
662 was more relaxed and less bothered by differences in gender and age
663 than affinal relationships from marriage. For the Sioux, each
664 spouse, male and female, had equal say in the relationship, thus
665 the system was bilateral in nature (Hassrick 1964:116).

666 After marriage, the spouse was to regard the new affinal
667 relatives as strangers, to be kept at a distance. In many
668 instances there was complete avoidance between spouse and parent-
669 in-law (Hassrick 1964:118).

670 The elderly, if unwanted or without relatives, lived alone
671 just outside the encampment. Food and supplies were brought to
672 them by younger men hoping to gain prestige. It was an unreliable
673 existence at best (Hassrick 1964:112-113).

674 Women's communion with the Great Spirit was separated from
675 men's ways because of the special, sacred power of birth that was
676 given them (Underhill:1965:51-54). While children grew to
677 adulthood, their relatives impressed them with the four cardinal
678 virtues of a *Dakota Oyate*: bravery, wisdom, fortitude, and
679 generosity. Their knowledge empowered them as teachers, thus the
680 teachings came full circle within two generations.

681 RELIGION

682 The Pipestone Quarry, in southwestern Minnesota, gave the
683 Seven Council Fires material to produce their Sacred Pipes. The

Pipe, shaped from the pipestone mined at the quarry, became the physical manifestation that embodied the holistic, philosophical understanding of the *Dakota Oyate* world. Ideology growing from this knowledge required a reverence for all living beings occupying the *maka* (earth) and *towanjina* (sky). *Dakota Oyate* people believed they were just one part of that universe and they were no greater nor less than any other object within the cosmos. Living in a sacred manner among the gifts of *Tunkashina Wakantanka* (Grandfather, Great Spirit) became an ideal, and the teaching and maintenance of these philosophical tenets was passed on to each succeeding generation by example and oral tradition (Alvord 1965:46-51; Bunge 1984:61-91; Ewers 1968; Lame Deer and Erdoes 1976; Murray 1983; Neihardt 1988).

The *canumpa wicowoyake* (pipe narrative) comes from the Minnesota Quarry, the place where Grandfather, Great Spirit gave the gift of the Pipe to the Oyate "(People)". A Sacred Pipe origin story tells how the Red People engaged in a great battle and their blood flowed onto the ground. When the Great Spirit saw them fighting, he forced them to stop. When all was quiet, he took a piece of the red stone and fashioned a Pipe, filled it with tobacco, and smoked it to the four directions, the earth, and the sky. When he was done, he told them this was the Pipe of Peace, and when men or women displayed it they should be shown respect (Alvord 1965:49-50; Bunge 1984:70; Catlin 1973:160-178, 201-206; Deloria 1978:ix-xi; Haverstock 1973; Thwaites 1903[a or b?]:125-127 vl).

Historically, it is indisputable that they recognized the Minnesota Quarry's significance on their arrival in the area. Using military force, they evicted the *Omahas*, *Mandans*, *Sacs*, and *Poncas* who were in the locale and incorporated the site into the boundaries of their nation. The *Ihanktonwan*, due to their strategic location on the southwestern side of the land occupied by the *Dakotas*, acquired the task of keeping the Pipestone Quarries secure for the Seven Council Fires in the consolidation and expansion of a cultural center (Alexander 1969:165-165; Bunge 1984:78-91; Catlin 1973, 2: 169-171; Hoover 1988; Nasatir 1990, 1:52; Sansom-Flood and Bernie 1985; Sansom-Flood et al. 1989; Sigstad 1973:136, Appendix B).

Around the concept of respect between people and all beings grew Seven Sacred Ceremonies, each intimately tied to the universal scheme emanating from the teachings of the Sacred Pipe (Brown 1989). From this perspective, it is virtually impossible to separate civil acts from what could be labelled religion. All that was *Dakota Oyate* was spiritual.

Spiritual and physical healing was not restricted by gender. Knowledge of healing plants, seeds, and roots was known by both sexes and shared with those who wished to learn the functional aspects, both as a layperson or in a formal apprenticeship (Cross

1938:140; Gilmore 1919). Individuals who desired to learn healing practices often sought inspiration through vision quests. If their prayers were answered by receiving a vision that bestowed healing knowledge, the blessed ones usually took a tobacco offering to a mentor whose specialty or vision matched their own. If the vision was compatible, the initiate was taken on as an assistant. Healing ceremonies were directed by a *pejuta wicasha na winyan* (medicine man or woman), and all relatives and friends who desired took part. The people cooked and served food, aided the healer in his ceremonies, offered encouragement, and sang songs, thus helping the infirm recover (Churchill 1992:219-220; Cross 1938:146-148; Gilmore 1919; McLaughlin 1989:77-96; Nasatir 1990, 1:258).

There is a ceremony called the Feast of the Dead. In this rite, the people kept the bones of their departed relatives, usually in their private dwellings, until a general meeting of tribes was called. All remains were then gathered and carried to a central location where mourning and feasting, sponsored by the affected families, took place. After these services were completed, the bones were obliterated, usually by fire.

Hennepin became ill during his captivity, and after his prayers failed to bring relief, his host *Akepagidan* (Again Fills the Pipe), recommended he partake in a sweatlodge ceremony. *Akepagidan* performed a series of three sweats and restored Hennepin to health. In relating his experience, Hennepin introduced the European world to one of the seven rites, the *Dakotas' initipi* or sweat lodge, used for "curing diseases" and reaching a state of "communication with the spirit world" (Brown 1989:31-43; Riggs 1973:101).

Besides the Sweatlodge Ceremony and the Feast of the Dead Ceremony, the other ceremonies of the Seven Sacred Rites included the Vision Quest, where one sought direction or an answer to a specific question, the Sun Dance, the Girls' Puberty Ritual, Throwing of the Ball (also associated with a female coming of age), and the Making of Relatives (where one can be adopted into a family) (Grobsmith 1981:65, 66).

Smoking the pipe of peace during the Lewis and Clark Expedition signified the importance of pipes and tobacco as used by Yanktons and most Indian tribes of the North American continent. Anthropologist George A. West wrote of the meaning attached to the pipe:

Its sanctity [was] seldom violated. It was used in the ratification of treaties and it afforded its bearer safe transport among savage tribes. Its acceptance sacredly sealed the terms of peace, and its refusal was regarded as a rejection of the same... (Parkman 1963:228)

DIVERSIONS

778 Sioux games frequently reflected real life situations. The
779 games ranged from the complex Moccasin Game, which was played by
780 adults, while a rowdy Swing-Kicking Game was played by young boys.
781 The Sioux enjoyed gambling and wagers were invariably placed to
782 make the sport more intense.

783 The diversity in Sioux games encompassed childrens' games,
784 sports for men and women, and more leisure activities for adults.
785 There were seasonal games, games for just two individuals, or
786 competition for large teams.

787 Winter games for children involved ice-sliding, with the one
788 sliding the farthest winning a small toy. Another winter game was
789 Sticking-together; boys and girls would spin their tops on the ice
790 and the winner would be the one whose top outspun and outbumped the
791 others (Hassrick 1964:143)

792 Team games could get rough, therefore exciting. These games
793 aided in teaching endurance and sturdiness. The Fire-throwing Game
794 consisted of teams of boys attacking in close formation, with
795 flaming sticks. If the teams did not retreat, and met in the
796 center, each team would strike out at the other (Hassrick
797 1964:144).

798 The games that reflected life situations helped to relieve the
799 struggle between self-expression and self-denial, such as hostility
800 against one's *tiyospaye* or friends. The Sioux played for high
-801 stakes (horses, wives), which also indicates the conflict between
802 self and others (Hassrick 1964:151).

803 Sioux storytelling was woven with traditions. Chronology was
804 not an important consideration in relating legends and myths from
805 the past. Storytelling was usually the main pastime in the winter
806 season, a leisure season for the Sioux.

807 The old people told stories around the campfire at night and
808 the narrative usually consisted of a tale of an important past
809 experience of the people as told to the elderly when they were
810 young. Phrases such as "It is said" or "They say" were customary
811 introductions (Hassrick 1964:153).

812 Ceremonies or celebrations included songs accompanied by
813 musical instruments (drum, rattle, flutes, and whistles) as well as
814 dancing. A dance may be given by a warrior and female relatives in
815 victory celebrations, or in honor of a woman's virtue, or by
816 soldiers displaying their bravery (Hassrick 1964:156).

817 COGNITIVE CULTURE

818 Hassrick (1964:119-120) has aptly described the social meaning
819 of home and family to Dakota people:

820 Home was not so much one's own lodge but rather one's
821 village, and the *tiyospaye*, the assembled tipis of one's
822 family, might be likened to an airy dwelling with many
823 rooms...Here were codes of behavior devised to reduce
824 tensions, and conversely, to promote harmony. By conforming
825 to the etiquette, the individual could find an automatic
826 sense of security, wherein the need to choose was reduced to
827 a minimum and the chance of social faux pas was equally
828 minimized. Consequently, existence within such a formalized
829 family system as the Sioux devised could only imply devotion
830 of self to the welfare of others. Members were a cog in a
831 wheel, working first in relation to the common good and
832 secondly for themselves. ... The success of the *tiyospe* was
833 dependent upon the cohesive functioning of its members, and
834 the kinship system was ideally suited to implementing it.

835 The stylization of Sioux behavior suggests in what awe the
836 people held social dissension. The Sioux had wrapped
837 themselves with protective devices to meet almost every
838 conceivable exigency--devices which appear so stultifying
839 and restrictive that personal expression, in group
840 relations, would seem to have been hampered to the point of
841 constriction. It is true that the studied stoicism, the
842 careful reaction in interpersonal affairs characterized the
843 Sioux people's approach to life.

844 Respect for the earth and sky and all living things did not
845 cause the *Dakotas* to become a stoic, humorless people. Their lives
846 were balanced by a keen sense of amusement and expansive tolerance
847 of kinsmen's behavior. *Dakota* humor differs from non-Indian forms
848 of wit, but it serves the same two-fold purpose, providing relief
849 from everyday mundane chores and functioning as a form of social
850 control. Indians devised their humor by finding something funny in
851 all of life's activities. Everybody and anybody was subject to
852 careful scrutiny and often the retelling of their actions found its
853 way into a joke or story.

854 Indian groups are still predominantly oral societies. Certain
855 characters, some seemingly profane and others sacred, were devised
856 as a means of standardizing meaningful stories, some of which are
857 mythical in nature. Among this group of mythical characters one
858 finds *miyasleca* (coyote), *unktomi* (spider, a fabulous creature),
859 and *heyoka* (an unnatural being) (Buechel 1970:174,337, 507; Neihardt
860 1988:20-47, 187-193; Riggs 1992:144-145; 317, 485; Walker 1980:155-
861 56). These characters can be counted on to perform or accomplish
862 impossible acts, and in the case of a *heyoka*, who did everything
863 backward, for example, washing with dirt rather than water. Parts
864 of the stories involving these three characters are strikingly
865 similar to Biblical parables, allegorical tales used to reveal the
866 foibles of mankind. In this way, *Dakota* people avoided using
867 personal examples that would show disrespect to that person and
868 possibly cause harm or dissension in the *tiyospaye*. Teasing, which

could be devastating, was accepted as a way of correcting improper behavior; it also taught one not to take oneself so seriously. Shaming, shunning, jeering, "uncomfortable sarcasm, challenge, hint or pointed remarks and blunt thrusts," were valuable Dakota social control mechanisms used to keep family members aware that bringing discredit upon one's family was a form of disrespect and therefore unwanted behavior (Iktomi 1937:60). To keep proper distance between certain relations, designated behavior was enforced. Normal conversation and close, physical location between the male and his mother-in-law was forbidden. Other kinships, such as the uncle and nephew relationships, were designated as teaching and teasing affiliations (Hassrick 1964:143-163; Neihardt 1988:60, 80, 86).

CONCLUSION

Along the way, Indian cultural traits were modified as amalgamation affected the Yanktons to a greater degree than other tribes of the Seven Council Fires. This was surely a blessing on one hand, but a difficult transition on the other. It seems a miracle that after nearly two hundred and fifty years, Yanktons are still intact as a nation and still practice their cultural ways today (1993).

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1170

1171 Table 5-1. The Seven Council Fires (from Woolworth 1974:7).
1172

1173	Eastern	1) Mdewakanton (Spirit Lake Village)
1174	or	2) Wahpekute ("Shooters in the Leaves")
1175	Isanti	3) Wahpeton ("Dwellers among the Leaves")
1176	(Santee)	4) Sisseton (Lake village or Fishscale village)
1177	Middle or	5) Yankton ("End Village")
1178	Wiciyela	6) Yanktonai ("Little End Village")
1179	Division	
1180	Western	7) Teton ("Dwellers on the Prairie")
1181	Division	
1182		

Table 5-2. Historical population figures for the Yankton Sioux, 1806-1898.

Year(s)	Population Estimate	Source
1806	200 warriors; 700 persons	Lewis' "Statistical View," <u>American State Papers, Indian Affairs</u> , vol. 2, 1832, pp. 707-715, cited in Woolworth 1974:206; see also Lewis and Clark in Thwaites 1969, 6: 96
1823	500 warriors; 2,000 persons	Keating, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1825	600 warriors; 3,000 persons	"Excessive"; Atkinson and O'Fallon to Barbour, 7 Nov 1825, in <u>American State Papers, Indian Affairs</u> , vol. 2, pp. 605-608, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1828	540 warriors	Dougherty, Estimate of the sum necessary for the Upper Missouri Agency, 1 Sep 1828 to 31 Aug 1829, cited in Woolworth 1974: 206
1830	540 warriors; 2,700 persons	Dougherty, Estimate of the sum necessary for the Upper Missouri Agency, 1 Jan to 31 Dec 1830, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1833	200 warriors; 1,125 persons	W. Clark to D. Kurts, 2 Sep 1833, cited in Woolworth 1974:206 ("About half of tribe; includes Santees")
1833	3,230 persons	L. Taliaferro, "Census of Sioux Indians Within St. Peters Agency, September 1st, 1833," cited in Woolworth 1974:206; "Excessive"
1834	2,170 persons	L. Taliaferro, "Census of Sioux Indians- St. Peters Agency, 1st September, 1834," cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1835	546 warriors; 1,820 persons	"Accurate"; J. Pilcher, "Abstract showing the different bands of Indians...and the aggregate number of Indians in the Sub Agency, Upper Missouri," 6 Oct 1835, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1837	500 warriors; 1,840 persons	"Accurate"; J. Pilcher, "Statistical Return of Upper Missouri Agency, September 30, 1837, cited in Woolworth

		1974:206
1842	750 warriors; 2,500 persons	"Excessive"; ARCIA, 1842, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1843	1,840 persons	A. Drips, "Sioux Indians," ms. cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1844	2,700 persons	"Excessive"; A. Drips, "Sioux Indians," ms. cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1849	3,200 persons	"Excessive"; ARCIA, 1849, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1853	3,000 persons	"Excessive"; ARCIA, 1853, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1855	700 warriors; 3,000 persons	"Excessive"; Schoolcraft, part 5, p. 494, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1859	1972	ARCIA, 1859
1860	450 warriors; 2,053	A. Redfield, Census of Yanktons, 25 Sep 1860, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1861	2053	ARCIA, 1861
1865	2530	ARCIA, 1865
1866	2530	ARCIA, 1866
1867	2500	ARCIA, 1867
1869	2500	ARCIA, 1869
1871	1947	ARCIA, 1871
1872	1947	ARCIA, 1872
1873	1947	ARCIA, 1873
1874	2000	ARCIA, 1874
1875	2000	ARCIA, 1875
1876	1992	ARCIA, 1876
1877	2182	ARCIA, 1877
1878	2112	ARCIA, 1878
1879	2008	ARCIA, 1879

1880	2019	ARCIA, 1880
1881	1998	ARCIA, 1881
1882	1977	ARCIA, 1882
1883	1950	ARCIA, 1883
1884	1786	ARCIA, 1884
1885	1726	ARCIA, 1885
1886	1776	ARCIA, 1886
1887	1777	ARCIA, 1887
1888	1800	ARCIA, 1888
1889	1760	ARCIA, 1889
1890	1725	ARCIA, 1890
1891	1716	ARCIA, 1891
1892	1715	ARCIA, 1892
1893	1730	ARCIA, 1893
1895	1735	ARCIA, 1895
1897	1728	ARCIA, 1897
1898	1728	ARCIA, 1898

Note: Secondary sources include Woolworth 1974. ARCIA refers to the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year indicated.

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CHAPTER 6

SANTEES

By Michele Moray

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The preponderance of literature available on the Eastern Dakotas pertains to the 1862 "Sioux Uprising," and the removal of much of the Eastern Dakotas from Minnesota after 1862. Ethnographic information on the Eastern Dakotas is generally lacking, in that the ethnocentric views of the early researchers often colored their interpretations and descriptions of Dakota culture. This paper focuses primarily on the Eastern Dakotas, with emphasis on the Mdewakanton tribe, but also presents general information on the "Sioux Nation" (Lakota/Nakota/Dakota) in general.

The sociology of the Mdewakanton has been written by Ruth Landes (Landes 1968). The territorial range of the Eastern Dakotas in Minnesota is documented in a volume by Harold Hickerson, although this work may contain some bias, as it was written for litigation before the Indian Claims Commission (Hickerson 1974). An extensive record of Euroamerican contact with the Eastern Dakotas in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries is reviewed in Gary C. Anderson's thesis (Anderson 1978). Several authors report a clan system among the Eastern Dakotas (Carver 1778, Dorsey 1889, 1890, & 1897, Eastman 1849 [Dorsey and Eastman references are NIRC], Howard 1966, Riggs 1893), while other authors have questioned this conclusion (Lesser 1930, Stipe 1971, Howard 1979). The conditions leading up to the "Sioux Uprising" and the consequences of it, including the removal many of the Eastern Dakotas from Minnesota, are analyzed by Anderson (1980), Blakeslee and O'Shea (1983), and Meyers (1964, 1967).

ETHNONYMY

The name Dakota means "allied", or "leagued", and refers to the affiliation of seven tribes commonly called the "Sioux" (Riggs 1976). A Dakota word describing the unity of these seven tribes is *Oceti-sakowin*, or "council fires" (Howard 1966). The names of the Dakota tribes reflect their geographic locations

stretching from the woodlands in Minnesota west across the Northern Plains to the Black Hills (Howard 1966:3):

Mdewakantonwan, "Spirit Lake Dwellers"
Wahpekute, "Shooters Among the Leaves"
Sisitonwan, or Sisseton, "People of the Boggy Ground"
Wahpetonwan, or Wahpeton, "Dwellers Among the Leaves"
Ihanktonwan, or Yankton, "Dwellers at the End (Village)"
Ihanktonwana, or Yanktonai, "Little Dwellers at the End"
Titonwan, or Teton, "Dwellers on the Plains"

These Dakota tribes are further classified into three groups by their location and cultural affiliation. The Mdewakantonwans, Wapekutes, Wahpetons, and Sissetons make up the Eastern Dakotas or Isanyati, "Dwellers at the Knife," the Yanktons and Yanktonais make up the Middle Dakotas or Wiciyela, "Those Who Speak Like Men," and the Tetons were termed the Western Dakotas (Howard 1966:3).

The Eastern Dakotas are also referred to as the Santees which most likely is derived from the word *Isanti*, or *Isanyati*, a name given to them when they lived around Mille Lacs Lake called *Isantande* or "Knife Lake" (Hodge 1968; Riggs 1893; Landes 1968). Although Santee is used to refer to all four Eastern Dakota tribes, in this report Eastern Dakota will be used to refer collectively to the four tribes, since the inhabitants of the Santee Reservation in Nebraska, presently known as the Santee Sioux Tribe, are principally Mdewakantonwans and possibly some Wahpekutes.

CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

The Dakota Nation belongs to the Siouan language family as do other Siouan speaking tribes including the Omahas, Winnebagoes, Mandans, and others (Howard 1966:1). As mentioned previously, the Dakota Nation consists of three linguistic dialects: Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota. The four Eastern Dakota tribes speak the Dakota dialect, the Middle Dakota groups speak the Nakota Dialect, and the Tetons speak the Lakota dialect. Howard (1966:2) points out that Dakota tribal members often will use the linguistic term to identify which the tribal division to which they belong, e.g., Teton Dakotas may identify themselves as Lakotas, Yankton Dakotas as Nakotas, etc. In his preface to the Bison Books edition of Robert H. Lowie's classic monograph, *Indians of the Plains*, Raymond J. DeMallie, a noted authority on the Dakota tribes, asserts to the contrary that while the Yanktons and Yantonais may be accurately described as speaking the Nakota dialect, only the Assiniboinis call themselves Nakota people (Lowie 1982:xi).

Howard (1966:4) suggests that the Eastern Dakota culture "closely resembles" the culture of the Central Algonquian tribes,

86 "particularly the Minnesota and Wisconsin Ojibwa, the Menominee,
87 the Potawatomi, the Sauk, and the Meskwaki."

88 ORIGIN, MIGRATION, AND FIRST EUROPEAN CONTACTS

89 The Eastern Dakotas are believed to have migrated from the
90 northeast, moving southwest into the area of the Great Lakes
91 region. No date is given for this migration, although in the
92 seventeenth century when French explorers ventured onto Eastern
93 Dakota lands in Minnesota, they found them well established in
94 their woodland setting (Anderson, 1978).

95 Pond (1986) reports a tribal migration from the far north
96 were the Eastern Dakota knew Eskimo. Oral tradition tells of an
97 ancestral Mdewakantonwan migration westward "long ago and far
98 away in a land of long winters" (Landes 1968:22). The tribe
99 continued a migration westward, eventually reaching the Great
100 Lakes where the climate was warmer and game was abundant. They
101 remained there for several years, but after conflict with the
102 Ojibways, the Dakotas continued their migration and eventually
103 arrived at the Mississippi River (*mni ses*, meaning
104 "waterwhirling"), where they built their villages (Landes
105 1968:24). Here they "remained on both banks of the great river,
106 near Lake Pepin...with their...villages at the present site of
107 Winona and LaCrosse: (Landes 1968:24). Also according to the
108 migration tradition related by Landes, after the tribal
109 population grew, the Dakotas split into seven "subgroups," or
110 council fires, of which the Teton Dakotas migrated furthest west,
111 to the Black Hills in South Dakota. Howard (1966:3) reports this
112 westward migration was partially a result of pressure by the
113 Ojibway who were armed by the French, and partially "because it
114 was the path of least resistance." The Eastern Dakotas remained
115 in the Mississippi River region until their removal in 1862.

116 The earliest documented European contacts with the Eastern
117 Dakotas began in the early seventeenth century, when the Dakotas
118 were exposed to intense European trade. The territory they
119 occupied was heavily exploited in the fur trade. Anderson (1978)
120 reports that in 1606, Nicholas Perrot established the first fur
121 post among the Dakotas on Lake Pepin. According to Meyer (1967),
122 Daniel Greysolon (the Sieur Du Luth) and the Recollet missionary,
123 Father Louis Hennepin, were the first white men to contact the
124 Eastern Dakotas at their Mille Lacs, Minnesota, location. In
125 1679, Sieur Du Luth left the French flag at an Eastern Dakota
126 village (Margry 1888). Hennepin was taken prisoner by the
127 Eastern Dakotas and later released. During the time he spent
128 with the tribe he recorded some of the earliest observations of
129 their culture (Hennepin 1903, 1966; Margry 1888; Meyer 1967:6).
130 In 1695, Pierre Charles Le Sueur established a fort at Prairie
131 Island along the Mississippi River, and another near the Blue
132 Earth river in 1700 (Anderson 1968, Meyer 1967). By the late
133 seventeenth century, the Eastern Dakotas were immersed in the

134 struggle between France and England for economic and political
135 control of North America (Meyers 1967).

136 In 1723, a Jesuit mission station was built near the Eastern
137 Dakota villages (Anderson 1968). The expansion of French
138 commercialism in the eighteenth century eroded and eventually
139 destroyed the intertribal trade system. French expansion also
140 promoted exploitation of the woodlands, leading to intertribal
141 conflict over available hunting grounds and wild resources.
142 Ultimately, this resulted in war between the Eastern Dakotas and
143 the Ojibways in 1737 (Anderson 1978:23)). In 1778, Charles
144 Gautier de Verville visited a band of Mdewakantons under the
145 leadership of Wabasha on the St. Croix River (Anderson 1978:36).

146 Lewis and Clark visited Eastern Dakota villages in the early
147 1800s, and Zebulon Pike established relations between the U.S.
148 government and the Eastern Dakotas in the early 1800s which
149 lasted through the mid-nineteenth century (Anderson 1978).
150 Lawrence Taliaferro recorded Eastern Dakota occupancy in
151 Minnesota during his time as agent to the tribe from 1819 to 1839
152 (Hickerson 1974:162). For a more comprehensive account of
153 European contact with the Eastern Dakotas, see Anderson (1968).

154 DEMOGRAPHY

155 As previously reported, the Eastern Dakotas were divided
156 into four tribes: the Sissetons, the Wahpetons, the Wahpekutes,
-157 and the Mdewakantonwans. The Eastern Dakotas were also divided
158 into an Upper and Lower Council. The Sissetons and the Wahpetons
159 belonged to the Upper Council, and the Mdewakantonwans and the
160 Wahpekutes belonged to the Lower Council (Howard 1966).

161 In the late eighteenth century, 300 lodges were counted at a
162 site along the St. Peters river called "Tetankatane", a village
163 where the Mdewakantonwans congregated in the summer (Anderson
164 1968:74). Population figures in the 1800s begin with an estimate
165 recorded by Zebulon Pike around 1805, reporting 2,105
166 Mdewakantonwans, while Lewis and Clark give a lower figure of
167 1,200 in the same year with a total Eastern Dakota population of
168 3,100 people (Anderson 1968:71; Hickerson 1974:249). In 1823, at
169 the village of Shakopee (a Mdewakanton village), 15 bark lodges
170 were counted "each with a capacity of 30-50 people" with an
171 estimated population of 450 to 750 people (Anderson 1968). A
172 report in 1836 by Lawrence Taliaferro, an Indian agent, estimates
173 the Eastern Dakota population at 5,000, and another estimate in
174 1844 reports the Mdewakantonwans with 417 men, 572 women, and 726
175 children, for a total population of 1,725 people (Anderson 1968).

176 TRIBAL TERRITORY/GEOGRAPHY

177 When the Eastern Dakotas resided in Minnesota, they made use
178 of a large area with their territory encompassing "what is now

179 the southern two thirds of the state of Minnesota with adjacent
180 parts of Iowa, Wisconsin, and North and South Dakota" (Howard
181 1966:2). Within this territory, the Eastern Dakota villages were
182 dispersed over a wide area; however, the region of Mille Lacs
183 Lake became the cultural center of the Mdewakantonwan tribe
184 (Hodge 1968:826). According to Anderson (1968), the Eastern
185 Dakotas hunted as far south as the Buffalo River, and also
186 exploited the Blue Earth and Cannon River regions. Landes
187 (1968:33) relates that the Eastern Dakotas declare as their
188 ancient hunting grounds the territory from the Cannon and
189 Straight Rivers, to "the headwaters of the Blue Earth River, as
190 well as the land in the vicinity of the Iowa border."

191 Pierre Charlevoix reported the Eastern Dakota and Fox tribes
192 raiding as far south as what is now Peoria, Illinois (Hickerson
193 1967:78). Hickerson (1967) also reports the Santees raiding as
194 far north as Lake of the Woods.

195 The Eastern Dakota territorial range was "bounded by a
196 curved line extending east of north from Prairie du
197 Chien on the Mississippi, so as to include all the
198 tributaries of the Mississippi, to the first branch of
199 Chippewa River: thence by a line running west of north
200 to Spirit Lake (Mille Lacs); thence westwardly to Red
201 River (Sioux River), and down that stream to Pembina;
202 thence south westwardly to the east bank of the
203 Missouri near the Mandan villages, thence south
204 westwardly to the east bank of the Missouri to a point
205 probably not far from Soldier River; thence east of
206 north to Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin." (From Long's
207 expedition, quoted in Hickerson 1967:21).

208 This description may include some of the territory inhabited by
209 the Middle Dakotas. While the Eastern Dakotas' hunting and
210 raiding activities extended over a vast region, their core
211 occupancy lay along the Mississippi River region in Minnesota.
212 Their hunting territory was challenged by the Algonquian tribes
213 to the south and east, and by the Chippewas from the north.

214 SUBSISTENCE AND DIVISION OF LABOR

215 In the woodlands of their Minnesota homeland, the Eastern
216 Dakotas practiced a diverse subsistence strategy including
217 hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering. Murdock (1967:47)
218 gives the following estimate of the contribution of each strategy
219 to Santee subsistence: hunting (which includes trapping and
220 fowling) constituted from 66-75 percent; gathering of wild plants
221 from 6-15 percent; fishing from 6-15 percent; and agriculture
222 from 6-15 percent.

223 Eastern Dakota women were responsible for gathering wild
224 plants, and a wide variety was utilized. The wild foods included

225 in their diet consisted of plants of both the woodlands, such as
226 maple sugar, aquatic rice, berries, and plums; and of the plains,
227 such as beans, potatoes, and turnips (Landes 1968, Pond 1986).
228 The wild turnip, waterlily, and wild rice were some of the more
229 important of the plant resources gathered (Landes 1968). The
230 turnip grew in marshy ground or shallow lakes, and was shaped
231 like a hen's egg but about half the size (Landes 1968, Pond
232 1986). In the summer while the hunting party had left to pursue
233 game, small gathering parties would set out in different
234 directions; some searching for berries, others looking for
235 turnips, potatoes, and wild onions in the prairies. Then
236 beginning in the fall around August or September the Eastern
237 Dakotas began harvesting rice. The usual number of people in the
238 rice party was two, with "a man poling the dugout canoe or boat,
239 the woman sitting in the bottom of the craft to tie the standing
240 rice into sheaves as the boat passed slowly through a lane"
241 (Landes 1968:178).

242 Agriculture did not play a significant role in Eastern
243 Dakota subsistence as they lived primarily on the products of
244 their hunting, gathering, and fishing activities (Pond 1986). A
245 small quantity of corn was raised by the Eastern Dakotas, which
246 was the responsibility of the women. Pond (1986:27) reports that
247 they planted as soon as they found the strawberries ripe, and
248 they favored areas where wild artichokes grew, as this indicated
249 areas with rich soil.

250 Although the Eastern Dakotas did not grow tobacco, they made
251 a mixture of the inner bark of red willow with additional plants
252 called *tcucaca*, which gave off a pleasing aroma when smoked
253 (Landes 1968:204).

254 Eastern Dakota men were primarily responsible for hunting,
255 trapping, and fishing. Primarily big game was hunted, including
256 buffalo, deer, and bear. Landes (1968) reports that the buffalo
257 hunt was the largest group activity of the Eastern Dakotas, as
258 villages from all four Eastern Dakota tribes would congregate for
259 a communal bison hunt. This communal hunt usually began in May
260 when a chief from one of the villages, who was an "old seasoned
261 hunter," would summon other villages to join in the tribal hunt
262 (Landes 1968:162). One part of organizing the tribal hunt
263 included coordinating the camp police (discussed in more detail
264 in political organization). The chief, or hunt leader, depended
265 greatly on his knowledge of the habits of the herd, of the land,
266 and of friendly as well as hostile tribes (Landes 1968).

267 Women also played a significant role during the tribal hunt.
268 After an animal was killed, women butchered, cooked, and cured
269 the meat and hides (Landes 1968, Pond 1986). Landes (1968:165)
270 reports that women sometimes pursued buffalo with the hunting
271 parties, and although they were considered eccentric, they were
272 not prevented from doing so. Landes also reports women

273 participating in trapping, owning hunting dogs, and joining war
274 parties to avenge a relative's death (1968:166). Some women were
275 "accorded...the honors of career men" (Landes 1968:49).

276 The buffalo hunt went on until the end of summer when people
277 began leaving to prepare for fall activities such as trapping,
278 duck hunting, going to the rice beds, and deer hunting (Landes
279 1968, Pond 1986).

280 The deer hunt usually began in October "with the onset of
281 cold weather", and lasted until sometime in January (Landes
282 1968:172). The rules of the fall deer hunt were very similar to
283 the summer buffalo hunt, but the hunting parties for the deer
284 hunt were usually much smaller. Landes reports hunting parties
285 varying in size from two men up to parties consisting of a whole
286 village. However, the average group was 8-12 hunters (Landes
287 1968:172).

288 Unlike the summer which was completely devoted to the bison
289 hunt, in the winter the Eastern Dakotas participated in "side
290 pursuits" of elk, moose, and bear (Landes 1968:185). The bear
291 was "highly respected and was given ceremonial consideration in
292 ways similar to the forms of more northern tribes" (Landes
293 1968:185).

294 When the hunters returned in the winter, they then began
295 fishing until early March when spring trapping and sugar-making
296 began (Pond 1986). Trapping took place in the fall and in the
297 spring, and is characterized as the most individualistic economic
298 practice in which the Eastern Dakotas participated (Landes 1968).
299 In the fall beaver and otter were trapped, while muskrat were
300 trapped in the spring; raccoon and skunk were also trapped
301 (Landes 1968, Pond 1986).

302 Fishing was both a summer and winter activity. Several
303 methods of fishing were used in the summer, employing either a
304 line, a net, or a spear. In the winter, fishing was accomplished
305 by cutting a hole in the ice and using a spear (Landes 1968, Pond
306 1986).

307 TECHNOLOGY AND DIVERSIONS

308 In technology, the Eastern Dakotas closely resemble Central
309 Algonquian adaptations (Skinner 1919). Household utensils
310 included bowls which were made from knots cut from the sides of
311 trees; spoons and ladles were made from either wood or buffalo
312 horn, and "the bowls and spoons used in medicine feasts and
313 dances, especially the wakan watcipi, had animal-head handles,
314 and were held sacred (Skinner 1919:165). The Eastern Dakotas
315 wove mats made of braided corn husks or reeds. They made pottery
316 from pounded clay tempered with burnt flint or crushed rock.
317 Knives, scrapers, and arrowpoints were made from stone. They

318 used stone berry crushers made of a flat stone slab with round
319 flat pebbles used to mash the berries and cherries. Canoes were
320 made by hollowing out logs, and the Sisseton and Wahpeton made
321 bark canoes. The weapons made by the Eastern Dakotas included
322 bows, arrows, rawhide shields, and warclubs.

323 After the introduction of trade goods, the material culture
324 of the Eastern Dakotas was significantly altered. Bone and stone
325 implements were replaced with metal, and the manufacturing of
326 pottery gave way to metal kettles and dishes (Pond 1986).

327 Diversions among the Eastern Dakotas included foot races,
328 gambling games, and they made bark sleds in the winter (Pond
329 1986). Well known field games include snow snake, lacrosse, and
330 shinny with other games like hoop and javelin, bowl and dice, and
331 *icasdohe* (_____) also being noted (Howard 1966, Skinner 1919).
332 Men played a gambling game called the moccasin game, while women
333 participated in a "plum shooting" game (Howard 1966:9).

334 The Eastern Dakotas made musical instruments such as the
335 double-headed tambour drum and the tall wooden water drum, the
336 latter of which was used during important ceremonies like the Sun
337 Dance (Howard 1966). Rattles made of deer hooves and gourds were
338 used "especially, by shamans and in the Medicine dance" (Howard
339 1966:8).

340 Both men and women painted on tipis, but used different
-341 styles. Men would paint directly on the tipi in a style called -
342 *wo.w(ae)* (_____), while the women used a different style by
343 first cutting an outline of the pattern on a separate piece of
344 material and then tracing this on the tipi (Landes 1968:162).
345 Paintings usually represented visions, or sometimes just the
346 local landscape. Pipes were carved from pipestone found in the
347 quarries of the sacred Pipestone area in southwest Minnesota
348 (Landes 1968:162).

349 SETTLEMENT

350 The Eastern Dakotas lived in two types of dwellings: the
351 *tipi-tank*a in the summer, and the tipi in the winter. The *tipi-*
352 *tanka* was a large, bark-covered house which was supported by a
353 frame of poles (Howard 1966; Pond 1986):

354 These posts were set a foot or two apart, and were
355 about three inches in diameter. On the sides of the
356 house, they were five or six feet long reaching to the
357 eaves, and on the gable ends they were longer toward
358 the center, reaching to the roof...forked posts were
359 set at each end of the house...The upper ends of the
360 rafters rested on the ridgepole, and the lower ends on
361 horizontal poles, which were fastened to the tops of
362 the posts at the sides of the house. Small poles were

363 placed transversely across the upright posts and the
364 rafters, and were tied to the latter with basswood
365 bark, so that the whole frame was a kind of wickerwork
366 made of poles crossing each other at right angles.
367 (Pond 1986:37)

368 Bark of elm trees was used for the covering of the house, each
369 piece being approximately five to six feet long (Pond 1986).
370 Directly outside the door of the *tipi*-tanka was a flat roof which
371 extended eight to ten feet and was supported by poles (Howard
372 1966:5). This area was used for lounging and for drying
373 vegetables. These bark houses could accommodate a large number
374 of occupants during the summer when villages regrouped from
375 winter expeditions to conduct the communal bison hunt, tribal
376 ceremonies, and gathering activities.

377 In the winter the Eastern Dakotas resided in tipis made of
378 dressed buffalo skins which were sewn together with sinew, and
379 stood around 12 feet high and 10 to 12 feet in diameter (Pond
380 1986:38). Tipis were used in the winter for their warmth and
381 because they facilitated mobility when the village groups
382 separated into smaller units, usually consisting of one to three
383 families who migrated together to hunting and trapping
384 territories (Howard 1966).

385 According to Landes (1968), tipis were put up close together
386 to facilitate early morning and evening announcements made by a
387 camp officer. Landes also reports that the plan of the village
388 was a semi-circle. However, Moses Wells, her informant, says
389 there was "no strong commitment to the circular plan" as the plan
390 depended on the landscape, for instance, a straight line may have
391 been used when in the woods, or along the banks of a river or a
392 lake (Landes 1968:30).

393 The locations of the villages of the four Eastern Dakota
394 tribes are reported by Pond (1986:4) and Landes (1968:4). The
395 Mdewakantonwan villages were located along the Mississippi from
396 Winona to the falls of St. Anthony in present-day Minnesota, and
397 along the Minnesota River extending to Shakopee. The villages of
398 the Wahpekutes were located at Traverse de Sioux, also near the
399 Wisconsin border at Lake Pepin, and in the vicinity of Faribault
400 on the Cannon River. The Wahpeton villages were north of
401 Shakopee on the Minnesota River, and at Big Stone Lake (where the
402 Sissetons also had villages), Little Rapids Lake, and Lac Qui
403 Parle, all west of the Mississippi. The Wahpetons and Sissetons
404 had additional villages at Lake Traverse, where some villages of
405 the Yanktons were located.

406 Reports of the number of villages included in the
407 Mdewakanton division are variable. Pond (1986) documents eight
408 villages, Landes (1968) reports only seven, while her informant,
409 Moses Wells, identified ten villages. The following list of

410 villages and their locations shows those identified by Landes and
411 Pond:

412 Kiuksa, located south of Lake Pepin, near present Winona;

413 Kaposia, located a few miles south of what is now St. Paul;

414 Black Dogs village; two or three miles above the mouth of
415 the Minnesota River;

416 Reyata Otonwa, located at Lake Calhoun;

417 Tewapa, located at Eagle Creek;

418 Xemenitca, or Hill-Water-Trees, at the present site of Red
419 Wing city; and

420 Tintatonwan, (the largest village) located at Shakopee
421 (Landes 1968:5-7, Pond 1986:5).

422 Villages listed by Landes' (1968:8-9) informant, Moses Wells,
423 include:

424 Shakopee, named for the chief;

425
426 Itcaxdake, located east of Shakopee village;

427 Mendota, where the Minnesota River enters into the
428 Mississippi River;

429 Light Baggage Carried on the Warpath, southeast of St. Paul
430 on the Mississippi River;

431 Big Trees, or Tcokantank, on the Mississippi River near
432 St. Paul;

433 Red Cloud Island, on an island in the Mississippi River
434 south of St. Paul;

435 Eagles (or possibly another cliff dwelling bird), located
436 on top of a hill just north of the present city of
437 Hastings;

438 Prairie Island, located between the Vermillion and
439 Mississippi Rivers;

440 Standing Rock, located on the Cannon River; and

441 Hill-Water-Trees, at Red Wing city.

442 TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT

443 The Eastern Dakotas travelled on foot, using the
444 domesticated dog as a pack animal to carry their necessities
445 before the introduction of the horse in the seventeenth to early
446 eighteenth centuries. After the Eastern Dakotas obtained the
447 horse, the dog probably remained a secondary pack animal, and
448 also was used to participate in hunting activities (Landes 1968).
449 Horses were also used as pack animals and to pursue large game
450 such as bison and deer. Although horses played a significant
451 role in Dakota life, canoes continued to be highly valued for
452 transportation in this land of lakes and streams. Deloria
453 (1967:4) writes that the canoe was their principal means of
454 transportation. Canoes were also used for gathering rice (Landes
455 1968, Pond 1986). Deloria (1967:4) gives a description of the
456 canoe making process:

457 Boats were made out of single logs. First they were cut to
458 the correct length; and then they were shaped to a point in
459 front and back. Then one side was planed to a flat surface,
460 and that was the bottom..."

461 The top was hollowed out, and then the canoe was balanced, and
462 sealed.

463 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

464 There is substantial controversy in the literature dealing
465 with Eastern Dakota social structure, particularly regarding the
466 existence of a clan-based kinship system. Many authors have
467 reported a clan system among the Eastern Dakotas (Carver 1778;
468 Dorsey 1889, 1890, 1897; Eastman 1849; Howard 1966; Riggs 1881),
469 but Stipe (1971) argues that there is no evidence for this
470 conclusion. In a later article, Howard (1979:133) reexamined his
471 earlier position on Eastern Dakota clans, concluding:

472 While it is now clear that the Eastern Dakota did not
473 possess patrilineal clans...the village groups of this
474 division of the Sioux possessed many of the attributes of
475 patri-clans.

476
477 The Eastern Dakotas were made up of village groups composed
478 of close kin. This is apparent in one Dakota term for village--
479 *tiwanzi*--meaning "family" (Landes 1968:29). Village exogamy was
480 practiced, greatly facilitated by extensive intervillage and
481 intertribal visiting (Landes 1968:128). Stipe (1971) notes that
482 village membership was fluid, with people moving freely from one
483 village to another, with the same being true between bands.

484 Murdock (1967) reports families were organized into
485 independent polygynous units, with no commitment to unilineal
486 descent; therefore, he concludes that the Eastern Dakotas
487 practiced bilateral descent. The idea that no emphasis was
488 placed on either the maternal or paternal line is supported by

489 Lesser (1930) and Stipe (1971). The Eastern Dakotas practiced
490 both levirate and sororate marriage (Landes 1968). But Pond
491 (1986) suggests that polygamy was more the exception than the
492 rule among the Dakotas. According to Landes (1968:130), an
493 honorable marriage was called *woxbapi*, meaning "presenting
494 valuables as gifts," referring to the practice of the groom's
495 close kin contributing gifts for his parents to give to the
496 parents of the intended bride.

497 ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

498 The villages of the four Eastern Dakota tribes were
499 economically self-sufficient units, although they were dependent
500 on the redistribution of goods. Villages were autonomous, with
501 the necessary leaders, warriors, and novices to secure village
502 independence (Landes 1968). A reflection of village solidarity
503 was "village concern for the needy, the widowed," the poor, and
504 the disabled, with "prime responsibility rest[ing] upon...close
505 relatives, and after these, upon the village" (Landes 1968:37).
506 Distribution and feasts also reinforced and exemplified village
507 solidarity.

508 When a hunter was successful in obtaining meat, the meat had
509 to be shared with other village members. This system was
510 accomplished through strict rules during the hunt, and in holding
511 feasts to which villagers were invited. During the deer hunt,
512 when a deer was killed, the hunter had to give notice to other
513 hunters nearby with a shout; the first three to arrive had claims
514 on the deer meat, but if no other hunter heard the call, the
515 killer of the deer kept the meat. This rule only applied to the
516 first deer shot, whatever was killed after the first was kept by
517 the hunter:

518 No one might appropriate a whole deer to himself simply
519 because he had killed it. Rules required anyone killing
520 a deer to give the shout-notice. If no one came, the
521 waiting hunter cut up the deer and carried it home. If
522 one did come the meat was divided equally, the killer
523 taking the hide. The first three to arrive had claims
524 on the meat. (Landes 1968:173)

525 The meat was taken back to the village where feasts were held.
526 Similar rules applied to bison and bear hunts and in the
527 distribution of the meat.

528 Intertribal trade was largely disrupted by the fur trade,
529 going as far as to instigate hostilities between neighboring
530 tribes over the competition for resources. Eastern Dakota and
531 Chippewa conflicts continued until the middle of the nineteenth
532 century as trade expansion and the "French policy of
533 pacification, exploration and exploitation" depleted valuable
534 hunting grounds (Anderson 1978:29). But even after extensive

535 contact with European traders, Meyer states "the influence of
536 white culture was evident mainly in the form of tools, weapons,
537 and utensils...if white contact had also made the Santees more
538 dependent on the trade system, the integrity of their culture was
539 largely intact" (Meyers 1967:20).

540 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

541 The Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Wahpeton, and Sisseton were each
542 composed of self-sufficient, sovereign villages, or bands. Every
543 village had its own chief, shamans, and police, the last of which
544 were called *akitzita* (Landes 1968:57). An example of the
545 expression of village sovereignty is seen in intervillage
546 gambling. A chief from one village would invite another village
547 to join in a gambling game; this also facilitated the exchange of
548 marriage partners (Landes 1968, Pond 1986). The chief generally
549 held office for life and through inheritance, however, it was
550 through merit and character that he gained the recognition and
551 respect which insured his authority (Howard 1966, Landes 1968,
552 Pond 1986). Within each village the chief was considered
553 "father," and the villagers his "children", and in his daily
554 conduct the chief was to exemplify hospitality and largess
555 (Landes 1968:82,88). The chief's duties included appointing the
556 *akitzita*, organizing hunting and war expeditions, and addressing
557 the village in early morning and evening "homilies" stressing
558 personal character, respecting others, concern with camp welfare,
559 and obeying and listening to elders (Landes 1968).

560 The *akitzita* were made up of men and sometimes women who
561 were "endowed provisionally with the fullest powers to execute
562 the chief's interests and orders" (Landes 1968:57). However, the
563 authority invested in the *akitzita* was strictly limited to the
564 specific jobs assigned by the chief. The members of the *akitzita*
565 were selected from experienced warriors within the village group,
566 and although highly respected, their authority was derived from
567 their association with the chief (Landes 1968:67).

568 The principal governing body of the Eastern Dakotas was the
569 village council, which was composed of twenty *wakiconze*, or
570 councilors (Howard 1966, Skinner 1919). Decisions of importance
571 were made in council with the village chief and the *wakiconze*.

572 During intervillage and intertribal activities (of the four
573 Eastern Dakota tribes) such as the communal bison hunt, or
574 ceremonies, villages "lost" their sovereignty and became part of
575 a larger unit. At this time the most respected and influential
576 leader would be chosen to conduct the intervillage/tribal
577 activities, with the *akitzita* composed of members from each of
578 the villages or tribes present.

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Table 6-1. Historical population figures for the Santee Sioux, 1835-1898.

Year(s)	Population Estimate	Source
1835	38 warriors; 130 persons	Santees at Vermillion River; J. Pilcher, "Abstract showing the different bands of Indians...and the aggregate number of Indians in the Sub Agency, Upper Missouri," 6 Oct 1835, cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1837	35 warriors; 123 persons	Santees at Vermillion River; J. Pilcher, "Statistical Return of Upper Missouri Agency, September 30, 1837," cited in Woolworth 1974:206
1861	Lower: 2547 Upper: 4363	ARCIA, 1861
1862	Lower: 2225 Upper: 2811	ARCIA, 1862
1863	Mankato: 322 Snelling: 1601	Meyer 1993:137-138
1864	1000	Meyer 1993:146
1865	1043	ARCIA, 1865
1866	1350	ARCIA, 1866
1867	1340	ARCIA, 1867
1869	970	ARCIA, 1869
1870	974	Meyer 1993:166
1871	987	ARCIA, 1871
1872	965	ARCIA, 1872
1873	917	ARCIA, 1873
1874	791	ARCIA, 1874
1876	793	ARCIA, 1876

1877	744	ARCIA, 1877
1878	757	ARCIA, 1878
1879	736	ARCIA, 1879
1880	764	ARCIA, 1880
1881	767	ARCIA, 1881
1882	762	ARCIA, 1882
1883	762	ARCIA, 1883
1884	806	ARCIA, 1884
1885	827	ARCIA, 1885
1886	871	ARCIA, 1886
1887	853	ARCIA, 1887
1888	857	ARCIA, 1888
1889	850	ARCIA, 1889
1890	869	ARCIA, 1890
1891	894	ARCIA, 1891
1892	915	ARCIA, 1892
1893	960	ARCIA, 1893
1894	964	ARCIA, 1894
1895	980	ARCIA, 1895
1897	989	ARCIA, 1897
1898	1019	ARCIA, 1898

Notes: Secondary sources include Woolworth 1974. ARCIA refers to the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year indicated.

[CHP.1; 15 June 1995-brr; 28 June--tdt]

CHAPTER 7

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN PONCAS, YANKTONS, AND NEBRASKA SANTEES FOLLOWING ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR RESERVATIONS

Beth R. Ritter, Oliver Froehling, and Michele Voeltz

INTRODUCTION

The establishment of reservations for the Poncas, Santees, and Yanktons marked a new era in the histories of the three tribes. Reservations were delimited in the NIMI study area under treaties of cession and Executive Agreements (see Appendix II). The establishment of reservations fostered dependency on government rations and services and facilitated government assimilation programs. The early reservation years, as discussed below, were extremely difficult for all three tribes. This chapter discusses the legacy which was begun by the establishment of reservations in the latter half of the nineteenth century and traces the separate development of each tribe through the present.

The authors of this chapter have contributed to it in various ways. Ritter and Froehling co-authored the section about the Northern Poncas, while Ritter and Voeltz separately prepared the discussions of the Yanktons and Santees, respectively.

THE NORTHERN PONCAS

In the historic period, the Poncas were a small prairie-plains tribe whose aboriginal territory emanated from the confluence of the Niobrara and Missouri rivers (Howard 1965; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). The Poncas acquired the reputation of "following the chase," particularly bison hunting, which accounted for their having ranged well into the Black Hills, Rocky Mountains and as far south as the Platte River (see Map ____). As seasonal bison hunters, the Poncas also managed to maintain a semi-sedentary village life, farming the river bottoms of various creeks and rivers in northeastern Nebraska. The Poncas are *Dhegiha* speakers with close linguistic and cultural affiliation to the Omahas, Quapaws, Kansas, and Osages (Howard 1965; Fletcher and La Flesche 1992).

The Ponca Treaty of 1858 ceded 2.3 million acres of the Ponca's aboriginal territory in return for a small reservation in the Niobrara river valley (see Map ____). (Wishart 1990). The supplemental Ponca Treaty of 1865 eventually expanded the reservation to 96,000 acres, which included traditional Ponca burial grounds and cornfields (Wishart 1994; Ritter-Knoche 1990).

43 From the outset, the Poncas were plagued with inadequate
44 annuities, poor luck in farming and persistent raiding on the
45 part of the Teton Sioux (particularly the Brulé band under
46 Spotted Tail) (Howard 1965).

47 The Poncas lost their reservation to the Teton Sioux in the
48 Ft. Laramie Treaty of 1868 (Howard 1965; Ritter 1994). In the
49 treaty, the government established the southern boundary of the
50 Great Sioux Reservation as the Niobrara River, which effectively
51 dispossessed nearly the entire Ponca reservation set aside in the
52 Ponca treaties of 1858 and 1865 (Lake 1981; Wishart 1994). The
53 government was unwilling to rectify the error, despite the
54 apparent indifference of the Brulé about keeping the Poncas' land
55 (Wishart 1994). The Brulé did, however, take advantage of the
56 increased license to raid the Poncas who were "squatting" on
57 their lands (Mulhair 1992; Wishart 1994).

58 In 1877, the government's solution to the Poncas' problem
59 was to relocate them to Indian Territory (see Chapter 29 for
60 discussion of the Ponca Trail of Tears). The Poncas were
61 forcefully marched to Indian Territory and their former
62 reservation was turned over to Spotted Tail in 1877. Spotted
63 Tail abandoned the agency in 1878 to return to his former
64 territory upriver from the Ponca reservation (Wishart 1994). The
65 Poncas suffered considerable hardship on the journey to Indian
66 Territory and after settling in Indian Territory on the Quapaw
67 reservation. Within two years of removal, the Poncas had lost
-68 nearly one-fourth of their tribe to disease, exacerbated by
69 malnutrition and exposure (Howard 1965).

70 One of the traditional chiefs of the Poncas, Standing Bear,
71 had resisted the removal from the outset and had never accepted
72 their fate (Wishart 1994). On January 1, 1879, Standing Bear led
73 a contingent of 29 Poncas out of Indian Territory toward their
74 former home on the Niobrara. Standing Bear was prompted to
75 attempt the escape from Indian Territory by the dying request of
76 his son, who wished to be buried with his ancestors. The journey
77 was a difficult one and the group was taken into custody after
78 they stopped on the Omaha reservation.

79 Historic events surrounding the separation of Standing Bear
80 and his followers from the main group of Poncas remaining in
81 Indian Territory and the subsequent trial of Standing Bear (see
82 Chapter 29), resulted in the eventual division of the Ponca tribe
83 into two separate tribes. Standing Bear's followers came to be
84 known as the Northern Poncas and were eventually allowed to re-
85 establish a landbase on their former reservation on the Niobrara.
86 The "Southern" Poncas who chose to remain in Indian Territory
87 received a 101,000-acre reservation. The histories and cultures
88 of the two tribes have been separate since 1881.

89 In 1881, Northern Ponca heads of household were allowed to

re-settle 640-acre plots on the former Niobrara reservation (Wishart 1994). However, these were not the eventual Ponca "allotments" discussed below; this was a special allowance which pre-dated the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887. The Poncas were not officially granted allotments (under the Dawes Act) until the breakup of the Great Sioux Reservation in 1889 (Wishart 1994).

Allotment Period

The Northern Ponca reservation was allotted under Sections 8 and 13 of the Act of March 2, 1889, to break up the Great Sioux Reservation (Kappler 1972, 1:328). Each head of household received 320 acres, orphans and single persons over 18 years of age received 160 acres, and every person under 18 was entitled to 80 acres.

The allotments were taken out in the summer of 1890, after last-ditch efforts of Standing Bear and some of his followers to avoid allotment by temporarily relocating to Indian Territory. The total acreage of allotments taken out amounted to 27,202 acres. In addition, a family of Rosebud Sioux also took out allotments on the Northern Ponca reservation. These allotments were initially protected by a 25-year trust period, during which the land was protected from alienation. The remainder of the 96,000-acre reservation was settled by non-Indians under the Homestead Act (Fig. 7-1).

The Ponca allotments were generally on the best land, located in the floodplains of the Missouri and Niobrara, and were concentrated on the eastern side of the reservation where the floodplains are the widest. The terrain becomes more "broken" in the western part of the reservation. The allotments were strung along the major rivers, and along some of the smaller creeks in the region. Families tried to occupy continuous plots, taking their allotments next to each other. When this was not possible, due to the limited floodplain acreage available, a family's allotments were spread over several clusters. (The information regarding the location of the initial Ponca allotments was obtained from the Land Index of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Regional Office in Aberdeen South Dakota. Information on the sale of allotments was compiled from the Numerical Index and the County Deed books, for both Boyd and Knox counties, Nebraska, [see Boyd County Registrar of Deeds n.d.a and n.d.b, and Knox County Registrar of Deeds n.d.a and n.d.b].)

During the first decade after allotment, the Northern Poncas farmed as individuals on their allotments, with some help from the agent and the agency farmer. However, due to the dynamics of Indian policy, this decade also saw the initiation of leasing and the onset of the heirship problem. Because land could not be willed to one heir, a parcel had to be either divided up, or several heirs received an undivided interest in the land parcel.

On the Ponca reservation, the latter was generally the case. Since the population was growing, this quickly led to significant numbers of land parcels being owned by an increasing number of individuals. In order to combat this problem, and to satisfy the landhunger of settlers in general, several federal laws were passed that effectively eroded the trust protection of the land. Exceptions that allowed for land alienation were made for inherited lands: some allottees were judged able to handle their own affairs and were allowed to sell outright, while other allottees were judged incompetent, in which case the agent was empowered to sell the land on their behalf. These exceptions to the trust period led to an accelerating loss of land for the Poncas. Land that was removed from trust status was generally sold after a short time period, often well below market value (Froehling 1993).

By 1916, the end of the initial 25-year trust period, over half of the allotted land had already left Ponca hands (Fig. 7-2). The trust period was extended several times until tribal termination in 1962, without ever effectively ending Northern Ponca land alienation. Fig. 7-2 also shows the pattern of alienation of the "continuous allotment areas" sold by 1916; the result of whole families receiving fee patents and then selling them. Alienation of the Northern Poncas' allotments ceased only after the Indian Reorganization Act was passed in 1934, which ended allotment as a policy, extended the trust period indefinitely, and put emphasis on reestablishing an Indian land base. At this time, there were two kinds of Ponca lands (Fig. 7-3):

- 1) Land held in trust for the individual allottee or his/her heirs by the federal government. These lands were tax exempt and could not be mortgaged. In the case of inherited allotments, this often meant that one land plot was owned by a large number of heirs with different interests in the land, since the Ponca population was growing.

- 2) Land held in fee simple title by an individual Ponca. This meant that the owner had the same title to the land as the non-Indian settlers in the area. Land could be mortgaged and was not tax exempt. Lands in this category were usually sold quickly, even though the owner had to petition the agent to release the land and in so doing usually stated that the land would not be sold but used for cultivation. A few Poncas however did try to farm and held out for a while, but then fell victim to the depression in the 1930s. The fee lands shown in Fig. 7-3 are some of the lands used by these Ponca farmers. The last of this fee lands was sold in 1946.

Fig. 7-4 shows the fate of the Ponca allotments which were officially protected from alienation (trust status). Fifty-three

percent were sold after a fee patent was obtained by the allottee, usually within six months after the fee patent was received. The large continuous areas result from families who received fee patents and sold their allotments within a short amount of time. Forty-five percent of the allotted acreage was sold by the federal government for the heirs after the original allottee was deceased. This type of transaction became increasingly more prevalent as the original allotted generation aged. Only 0.9 percent of the acreage, or two allotments, were sold for allottees that were declared incompetent, which is a fairly low percentage compared to other reservations. A total of 1.2 percent were either submerged in the Missouri before it could be sold, as happened to the allotments in the far north, or were cancelled.

Land Tenure Between 1934-1965

The Northern Ponca Tribe incorporated under the Indian Reorganization Act in 1936; however, there were very few land parcels left to protect (Fig. 7-3). The remaining lands were scattered throughout the reservation, with a center at the agency allotment and another in the north along the Missouri, where most of the allotments had been taken out in the first place.

After incorporation, tribal trust lands were acquired, among them the old Standing Bear allotment located in the southeast corner of the reservation area (Fig. 7-5). This was the only land parcel located in the floodplain; all the other newly acquired land parcels were located in the uplands, away from the major rivers. However, lands held in fee and inherited lands continued to be sold.

World War II and relocation policies, thereafter, continued to promote the out-migration of Poncas, resulting in a dispersed pattern of residence by the time the tribe was terminated. Fig. 7-6 shows the location of residence of the 442 Northern Ponca tribal members listed on the final tribal roll in 1965. This pattern shows the impact of the relocation programs, as well as demonstrating affiliation with other tribes, like the Omahas. Even though the pattern is dispersed, the core of the Northern Poncas were still located in the reservation area. Clearly marked are the centers of the Indian Relocation Program in Salt Lake City, Seattle, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Ponca City, Oklahoma, also received a fair number of Northern Poncas, illustrating the strong ties between the two Ponca groups.

During the time of out-migration (1940s until termination), many of the remaining tribal lands were leased to non-Indian farmers and ranchers (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 1958). The few lands still held in fee by Ponca farmers were sold piecemeal, as were some of the inherited lands. Because the permission of all heirs was needed to sell inherited

lands, this became more and more difficult, since some parcels were owned by perhaps as many as 50 to 100 heirs. In the 1950s, the reservation population continued to drop. All the lands, including the tribal and inherited lands, were sold during the course of termination and the proceeds distributed among the tribal members (Fig. 7-7).

Termination

In the post-World War II political and economic climate, outright assimilation of American Indians into the dominant American culture was seen as the final solution to the centuries-old Indian problem (Wilkinson and Biggs 1977; Olson and Wilson 1984; Prucha 1984). The Northern Ponca Tribe of Nebraska was among the 109 American Indian tribes and bands to be Congressionally-terminated in the 1950s and 1960s. Tribal termination resulted in the severing of the special federal-tribal "trust" relationship and ended federal responsibility and supervision, guaranteed by treaty, in the areas of education, health, welfare, natural resource, and trust land management (LeRoy and Tyndall 1987; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992).

As discussed earlier, previous government policies such as allotment and relocation had effectively resulted in the out-migration of the majority of Northern Poncas from the reservation in northeastern Nebraska by the 1950s. At the time of tribal termination in 1962, only 834 acres remained under tribal control. The former reservation was located in a predominately rural agricultural economy, dependent on ranching and farming. The majority of Ponca families did not have adequate acreage to pursue either occupation; for many Ponca families relocation was an economic necessity. The demise of the traditional community arguably contributed to a loss of tribal identity and customs (Ritter 1994).

The Northern Poncas were the last tribe to be congressionally-terminated under termination policy in 1962 (Prucha 1984). When termination began in 1954, the government targeted wealthy, highly-assimilated tribes (like the Menominee and Klamath) who were considered "ready" to handle their own affairs. Later, partially because of resistance from the more powerful tribes, the government turned to concentrate on the smaller, poorer tribes, like the Northern Poncas, who were ill-prepared to oppose their termination.

Interestingly, the Northern Ponca tribe actually voted in favor of termination, a fact which has puzzled many (Ritter-Knoche 1990). Some Ponca informants suggest that they "walked out of the election" and boycotted the vote when they saw that many were in favor of termination (Grobsmith 1989). Looking back, there is a broad perception among many Northern Poncas that they simply did not understand the consequences of termination.

282 Many felt that they were "lured" by the promise of per capita
283 cash payments that would result from the liquidation of their
284 remaining tribal assets (including the pending award from the
285 Indian Claims Commission which would not have been distributed
286 individually unless the tribe terminated--non-terminated tribes,
287 the Southern Ponca tribe included, received their Indian Claims
288 Commission awards in lump sum). Many report that they felt it
289 was over anyway, termination just made it official. (Informants'
290 opinions are summarized from personal communications with the
291 author between 1989-1995.)

292 The Northern Ponca tribal termination bill was introduced by
293 Senator Church in April of 1962. The bill provided for the
294 drawing up of a final tribal roll, the division of tribal assets
295 and the transfer of trust property to individual tribal members
296 (which returned trust land to the local tax rolls) (Grobsmith and
297 Ritter 1992). Termination became effective on October 18, 1966
298 (Kappler 1972). The final tribal roll included 442 Northern
299 Poncas, who lost their federally-recognized identity as American
300 Indians and the special services that accompany such status.
301 Termination also resulted in the liquidation of the remaining 834
302 acres of reservation land. The Northern Poncas were allowed to
303 retain their tribal cemetery, roughly 14 acres. Commenting on
304 termination, LeRoy and Tyndall suggest:

305 What transpired as a result of termination has been a
306 decline in the customs and traditions of the Ponca Tribe,
307 the loss of federal services, employment-job training,
308 health services for the young and elderly, Indian child
309 welfare protection, higher education and youth programs.
310 The loss of recognition as American Indian has had the most
311 profound effect on tribal members and their descendants.
312 (LeRoy and Tyndall 1987:2-3)

313 While there is widespread consensus that termination hurt
314 the Northern Poncas socio-economically (LeRoy and Tyndall 1987;
315 Grobsmith 1989; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992), comparative data from
316 the 1960s is presently unavailable. The Poncas requested that
317 information from the BIA in preparation of their restoration bid,
318 but the BIA was unable to locate the Poncas' records. Evidently,
319 the BIA failed to anticipate the possibility that tribal
320 termination would not be a permanent state or that any future
321 need to access records pertaining to terminated tribes would
322 arise.

323 One tangible consequence of termination was the continued
324 out-migration of tribal members from the aboriginal homeland. A
325 1989 socio-economic study, initiated by the Northern Ponca
326 Restoration Committee, Inc. (NPRCI), revealed that the Northern
327 Poncas were dispersed in 26 states, including Hawaii, Alaska, and
328 Puerto Rico (Grobsmith 1989; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). In
329 1989, the majority of Northern Poncas (54 percent) continued to

cluster residentially within the general vicinity of the former reservation, in the states of Nebraska, South Dakota, and Iowa (Grobsmith 1989; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). Of particular significance were population concentrations in the Nebraska cities of Omaha, Lincoln, and Norfolk (Grobsmith 1989; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). Arguably, the aforementioned residential patterns have provided considerable obstacles to organizing tribal restoration efforts and to perpetuating community activities, such as cultural and social events.

Restoration

Various attempts to reverse tribal termination were initiated in the 1970s and 1980s (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). Finally, in 1986, a meeting of representatives from the Northern Ponca Tribe, National Indian Lutheran Board, Sequoyah, Inc., the Lincoln Indian Center, and the Native American Development Corporation of Omaha met to discuss the feasibility of reversing termination (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). The Northern Ponca Restoration Committee, Inc. (NPRCI), a non-profit organization, was chartered in the state of Nebraska in August of 1987 (LeRoy and Tyndall 1987; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). The corporation was chartered specifically:

1. to perpetuate the identity of the Tribe of Native Americans known as the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska;
2. to seek to establish said tribe as a State recognized tribe of Native Americans;
3. to seek to reinstate said tribe as a federally recognized tribe of Native Americans; and
4. to perpetuate the culture, traditions, and customs of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska. (LeRoy and Tyndall 1987:3)

The Ponca Tribe of Nebraska achieved their goal of state recognition in April of 1988, with the passage of Resolution No. 428 by the Nebraska Unicameral (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992:11).

After securing state recognition, the grass-roots restoration effort focused on courting Nebraska Congressional representatives to introduce and support their restoration bill in Congress. The Ponca Restoration Bill was modeled, with the assistance of Mike Mason, an experienced restoration attorney from Oregon Legal Services, after successful restoration bills initiated by various terminated Oregon tribes. The NPRCI sought support from Nebraska Senators J.J. Exon (D) and Bob Kerrey (D). Senator Exon was particularly receptive and "co-introduced" Senate Bill 1747, the "Ponca Restoration Act" in October of 1989 with Senator Kerrey (Grobsmith 1989). The Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs endorsed the bill and, it

374 subsequently gained unanimous approval in the Senate.

375 The Ponca restoration legislation encountered considerably
376 more resistance in the House of Representatives and with
377 representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Grobsmith and
378 Ritter 1992). The primary obstacle in the House of
379 Representatives was the general lack of support from the Nebraska
380 House delegation. The concern focused on the relatively vague
381 language in the Bill regarding the possibility of eventually re-
382 establishing a residential reservation for the Poncas in
383 northeastern Nebraska. The Poncas were not seeking the re-
384 establishment of their reservation; they had opted instead for a
385 federally-funded economic development plan which would presumably
386 better serve their dispersed, urban membership. Ultimately, in
387 order to secure the support of the Nebraska delegates, the tribal
388 representatives agreed upon compromise legislation that
389 explicitly barred the Ponca Tribe from ever seeking the re-
390 establishment of their reservation. With the eventual support of
391 the Nebraska Representatives, the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska was
392 able to secure a favorable vote in the House of Representatives.

393 The issues with the Bureau of Indian Affairs centered
394 primarily on administrative questions. Initially, the Bureau was
395 concerned about blood quantum requirements and the number of
396 service delivery areas the Bureau would be responsible to fund.
397 The Bureau estimates an average cost of \$3,000 per enrolled
398 tribal member (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992; Ritter-Knoche 1990), so
399 questions regarding tribal membership criteria are of especial
400 interest to the Bureau. The NPRCI leadership (particularly Fred
401 LeRoy) was able to successfully argue that the Poncas have the
402 sovereign right to establish their own criteria for tribal
403 membership. For the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska this meant dropping
404 the standard "blood quantum" requirement in favor of lineal
405 descendency, a radical departure from the historical policies of
406 the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Jaimes 1988; Grobsmith and Ritter
407 1992; Ritter-Knoche 1990). The Bureau eventually agreed to fund
408 six service delivery areas (Knox, Boyd, Madison, Lancaster, and
409 Douglas counties in Nebraska, and Charles Mix County in South
410 Dakota). This was also a departure for the BIA, which generally
411 prefers to limit service-delivery areas to reservations.

412 Finally, the Bureau sought to oppose the Ponca Tribe of
413 Nebraska's restoration by questioning whether the Tribe
414 adequately fulfilled the six administrative criteria, set forth
415 to regulate the eligibility of terminated tribes to pursue
416 restoration. The criteria address: 1) the existence of an
417 identifiable community; 2) residential vicinity to the former
418 reservation; 3) evidence of on-going self-government functions;
419 4) retention of aboriginal language, customs, and culture; 5)
420 marked deterioration of socio-economic status; and 6) comparative
421 data regarding the severity of their condition to adjacent
422 areas/groups (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992:11). While

423 representatives of the Bureau testified at the House of
424 Representatives' Committee Hearing on Interior and Insular
425 Affairs that they "felt" the Poncas did not satisfy the
426 administrative criteria, they were unable to demonstrate why
427 (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992). As a result, the testimony of the
428 Bureau was discounted and proved ineffective in halting the Ponca
429 Tribe of Nebraska's restoration.

430 With the Nebraska House delegation's support and a
431 successful House hearing, the bill won approval and was forwarded
432 to President George Bush who signed the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska
433 back into federally-recognized existence on October 31, 1990
434 (P.L. 101-484; see Appendix I).

435 The grass-roots restoration effort, spearheaded by the
436 Northern Ponca Restoration Committee, Inc., with dedicated
437 leadership from Mr. Fred LeRoy and the Board of Directors, raised
438 an estimated \$180,000 from private and public sources to finance
439 the restoration effort (Ritter-Knoche 1990). The restoration
440 team also included an attorney, a Washington, D.C.-based
441 lobbyist, and two anthropologists (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992).

442 Upon restoration, leadership duties were officially vested
443 in the Board of Directors of the Northern Ponca Restoration
444 Committee as the "interim Tribal Council." The legal duties of
445 the interim Tribal Council included submitting a Tribal
446 constitution for Bureau of Indian Affairs and subsequent
-447 ratification by tribal members; overseeing tribal elections to
448 seat a constitutionally-elected Tribal Council; preparing and
449 submitting an economic development plan to Congress; enrollment
450 of Tribal members; service delivery; and initiating Tribal
451 infrastructure and administration. Because of the timing of the
452 restoration, the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska missed the Bureau of
453 Indian Affairs funding cycle and did not begin receiving regular
454 tribal funding until October, 1991 (Ritter 1994).

455 The newly-restored tribe has experienced considerable
456 political and legal challenges. The initial interim council
457 administration, headquartered in Omaha, was successfully
458 challenged by an opposition group, who held an independent
459 election to replace the NPRCI Board of Directors (the interim
460 Tribal Council). For several months in 1992, two rival Ponca
461 Tribal Councils vied for legal and federal government recognition
462 as the legitimate Tribal administration. The dispute, which
463 revolved around Nebraska statutes for non-profit organizations,
464 was eventually settled in district court in October, 1992, with
465 the Niobrara-based coalition prevailing.

466 The new constitution of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska was
467 ratified in June of 1994 and the first Tribal Council and Tribal
468 Chair were elected in October, 1994 (see Chapter 30). Tribal
469 headquarters are in Niobrara, Nebraska, with field offices in

Omaha, Norfolk and Lincoln. (For more detailed documentation of termination, restoration and current tribal politics see: LeRoy and Tyndall 1987; Grobsmith 1989; Ritter-Knoche 1990; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992; Ritter 1994.)

THE YANKTON SIOUX

Aboriginal Territory

The first documented European contact with the Dakota Nation (Sioux) was in 1679, when Duluth visited them at Mille Lacs Lake in present-day Minnesota (Woolworth 1974:14). The Yanktons' aboriginal territorial core was most likely north-central Minnesota (Woolworth 1974; Bruguier 1993; Hoover 1988). The westward migration from a woodlands-based economy to a prairie-plains economy commenced during the historic period. According to Woolworth (1974:178), the Yanktons had become a prairie-plains group by 1700, and were located near the sacred Pipestone Quarry in southwestern Minnesota, a place that holds significant spiritual and cultural significance for the Yanktons to this day (see discussion below). Continued conflicts with the well-armed Chippewas on the eastern frontier, confined the Yanktons to southwestern Minnesota and northwestern Iowa throughout the eighteenth century (Woolworth 1974). The Yanktons began to migrate into Royce Area no. 410 (see Fig. 29-1a [ex-4]) at the turn of the twentieth century. Eventually, the Yankton Sioux aboriginal territory, recognized officially through U.S. treaty cessions and eventually by the Indian Claims Commission, would emanate from Royce Area 410 (see Fig. 29-1a [ex-5]). The land eventually ceded as Yankton "aboriginal territory" lies largely within the modern state of South Dakota and is commonly known as "Royce Area no. 410" (Royce 1899).

In the Treaty of 1858, the Yankton Sioux ceded nearly 11,000,000 acres to the United States (Royce 1899; Woolworth 1974). The Treaty of 1858, negotiated by Chief Struck-by-the-Ree, provided for a 430,000-acre reservation and continued rights to the Pipestone Quarry in Minnesota. The Yanktons were awarded \$1.6 million in annuities or 14.9 cents per acre (Wishart 1990:98), to be paid over a 50-year period. In addition to the annuities, \$50,000 was committed to aid in the transition to reservation life (e.g., houses, implements, livestock), including the construction of various facilities associated with the Greenwood Agency.

The Reservation Era

The Yanktons began to settle on their newly-established 430,000-acre reservation in 1859. The Yankton agency was established at Greenwood, near the Missouri River, to facilitate delivery of supplies and payment of annuities (see Chapter 28). Hoover (1988:36) described early reservation life:

516 To outsiders, reservation existence through the 1860s may
517 have seemed like traditional life confined in a small
518 space. Agency employees were at work to make it
519 otherwise, however, as quickly as they could. No item on
520 their agenda seemed more urgent than the order to move
521 Yankton people from their band villages into permanent
522 housing on scattered family farms.

523 These policies included encouraging Yanktons to replace tipis
524 with log cabins and most importantly, communal land with private
525 property. It was believed that physically separating tribal
526 members would discourage participation in traditional activities
527 (religious ceremonies, dances, giveaways, etc.,) which stood in
528 the way of "civilizing" the Yanktons.

529
530 Chief Struck-by-the-Ree encouraged the Yanktons to
531 accommodate the policies of the federal government. However, the
532 Yanktons were victimized by a corrupt agent, Dr. Walter A.
533 Burleigh, a political appointee of President Lincoln, during the
534 early reservation years (Sansom-Flood and Bernie 1985). This,
535 compounded by the resistance of the "upper bands," who were
536 traditionalists led by Feather Necklace, and natural disasters
537 (drought, grasshoppers, early frosts, blizzards, and floods) made
538 the early years of reservation adjustment difficult indeed.

539 Generally speaking, the Yanktons suffered a steady decline
540 in population during the first four decades of reservation life
541 (see Fig. ex-6 and Table 5-2). The population of the Yanktons
542 reached an all-time low of 1,715 in 1892/1893 from a high of
543 2,530 in 1865 (ARCIA 1865; 1892; 1893). When mortality is
544 discussed in their reports, the Yankton agents typically
545 attribute the high mortality to disease. In 1880, the Yankton
546 agent reported a 16.8 percent mortality rate due to disease
547 (ARCIA 1880). In 1882, the Yankton agent reported 93 deaths and
548 84 births, perhaps illuminating one factor in the steady
549 population decline in this era (ARCIA 1882). The Yanktons'
550 agents neglected to document any possible out-migration of tribal
551 members during the early reservation years, making interpretation
552 of the population figures tenuous.

553 *The Sacred Pipestone Quarry*

554 In the negotiation of the Treaty of 1858, Chief Struck-by-
555 the-Ree was determined to secure the retention of the sacred
556 Pipestone Quarry as Yankton territory. Because the Santees had
557 failed to treat for that right in the Mendota and Traverse des
558 Sioux treaties of 1851 (see Appendix II), the Yanktons were in a
559 position to legally reserve the quarry for themselves (Corbett
560 1978:100). In the Treaty of 1858 (Treaty of Washington),
561 ratified in 1859, Article 8 stipulated that the red pipe-stone
562 quarry would be reserved for Yankton use. In addition, the
563 federal government assumed the responsibility of surveying the

564 site. It was described as, "an open pit...several hundred yards
565 long and about 12 feet wide" (Corbett 1978:102).

566 The Pipestone Quarry is located approximately 150 miles
567 northeast of the Yankton Sioux reservation in South Dakota.
568 Because the Yanktons were not resident in the proximity of the
569 quarry, it became increasingly difficult to maintain their claim
570 to the site, particularly in the face of growing American
571 settlement in the area. In the 1870s, the Yanktons' title to the
572 land was challenged by the settlers (Corbett 19778:102). Tribal
573 leaders filed a formal complaint with Commissioner of Indian
574 Affairs, Carl Schurz, in 1878. Encroachment continued, a
575 railroad was built across the northern portion of the reserve
576 (1884), and the government constructed an Indian industrial
577 school (1892) which appropriated the entire 640 remaining acres
578 of the reserve (Corbett 1978:104-11). These developments
579 strengthened the growing belief by non-Indians that the quarry
580 was not "owned" by the Yanktons:

581 The attorney general ruled that the title of the land was
582 with the U.S.; and therefore, the government did not have to
583 obtain permission from or pay compensation to the Indians.
584 (Corbett 1978:108)

585 This was an example of the exercise of plenary power held by
586 Congress over Indian tribes.

587 The Agreement of 1892, attempted to resolve the outstanding
588 grievances of the Yanktons regarding the dispossession of the
589 sacred site. Article XVI of the Agreement of 1892 (28 Stat.,
590 318) provides,

591 If the Government of the United States questions the
592 ownership of the Pipestone Reservation by the Yankton
593 tribe of Sioux Indians under the treaty of April 19th,
594 1858, including the fee to the land as well as the right
595 to work the quarries, the Secretary of the Interior shall
596 as speedily as possible refer the matter to the Supreme
597 Court of the United States, to be decided by that
598 tribunal. And the United States shall furnish, without
599 cost to the Yankton Indians, at least one competent
600 attorney to represent the interests of the tribe before
601 the court.

602 If the Secretary of the Interior shall not, within one
603 year after the ratification of this agreement by
604 Congress, refer the question of the ownership of the said
605 Pipestone Reservation to the Supreme Court, as provided
606 for above, such failure upon his part shall be construed
607 as, and shall be, a waiver by the United States of all
608 rights to the ownership of the said Pipestone
609 Reservation, and the same shall thereafter be solely the

610 property of the Yankton tribe of Sioux Indians, including
611 the fee to the land.

612 The Yanktons sought monetary compensation (\$3 million) for
613 the appropriated reserve, while the Government offered only
614 \$64,840 (\$100 per acre) (Corbett 1978:112). The U.S. Senate
615 decided that the Treaty of 1858 had created nothing more than an
616 "easement...which gave the Yanktons the right to use the quarry
617 but nothing more" (Corbett 1978:113). Eventually, the case was
618 referred to the Supreme Court, which ruled that "the Yanktons
619 held title to the pipestone reserve as a result of the Agreement
620 of 1892 and were entitled to just compensation" (*Yankton Sioux
621 Tribe of Indians v. United States*, 272 U.S. 351, 47 S.Ct., 71
622 L.Ed. 294, 298 [1926], quoted in Corbett 1978:114). In 1929,
623 Congress appropriated \$328,558.90 in per capita distributions to
624 1,953 persons, who received \$151.99 apiece for their sacred
625 quarry (Corbett 1978:115).

626 *Allotment and the Agreement of 1892*

627 The Dawes Severalty Act or General Allotment Act of 1887,
628 signalled Congress' intent to dismantle the tribal communal land
629 tenure systems as a definitive step in the assimilation process
630 (see Chapter 29). As Deloria (1987:86) observes, the General
631 Allotment Act did not in and of itself dispossess the Indian
632 landbase, it simply gave the President of the United States the
633 authority to negotiate the cession of "surplus" lands freed up by
634 the allotment process. In fact, many reservations had already
635 been allotted previous to the 1887 Dawes Act. By 1887, Congress
636 had allotted 584,423 acres of treaty-guaranteed reservations,
637 e.g., 76,000 acres of the Omaha reservation was allotted in 1882
638 (Olson and Wilson 1984:66).

639 The actual vehicle which transferred "surplus" lands into
640 the public domain were a series of statutes enacted over a span
641 of nearly 30 years after the passage of the Dawes Act: "These
642 statutes provided for the allotment in severalty of tracts of land
643 on specific reservations to individual tribal members, and then
644 for the opening of surplus lands to settlement" (Campbell
645 1986:57). These statutes are known collectively as the Surplus
646 Lands Acts.

647 The Yanktons were opposed, sometimes violently, to accepting
648 the allotment of their reservation (see Sansom-Flood et al.
649 1989:39-42). The resistance was lead by Feather Necklace,
650 Struck-by-the-Ree's traditional headman. In the 1887 report to
651 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John F. Kinney (Yankton
652 agent) described the situation:

653 When surveyors began allotment work on the Yankton
654 Reservation, Feather's men surrounded them. Instead of
655 backing off, the whitemen pounded more stakes into the

656 ground. Warriors yanked up the stakes and grabbed the
657 tripod. A month later, Tribesmen stopped surveyors at
658 the Chouteau Creek bridge and refused to allow them on
659 reservation land. During the summer of 1887, Feather
660 attacked the surveying party three times. A cavalry
661 regiment was finally called in from Fort Randall to stop
662 the resistance. (quoted in Sansom-Flood et al. 1989:27)

663 Struck-by-the-Ree, completely blind and deaf by this time,
664 did not oppose allotment. He was, however, committed to stopping
665 the sale of surplus land on the Yankton reservation and proposed
666 that each Yankton be allotted 480 acres ("twelve forties") of
667 tribal land, which was calculated to leave no surplus land
668 (Sansom-Flood et al., 1989:27). Struck-by-the-Ree, *Padaniapapi*,
669 was unable to secure his last wish for his kinsmen; he died in
670 1888 before he could stop the sale of surplus land and before the
671 allotment process was completed (Sansom-Flood et al., 1989:30).

672 The allotment process evidently proceeded as the Yankton
673 agent, Everett W. Foster, reported 1,484 patents issued in 1891
674 (ARCIA 1891). Each Yankton head of family received 160 acres,
675 single people over the age of 18 received 80 acres, and singles
676 under the age of 18 received 40 acres. Originally, the allottees
677 were to have 25 years of trust protection for their allotments;
678 this period was shortened through various amendments to the Dawes
679 Act.

680 Far from reducing the federal responsibility for Indian
681 affairs, the Dawes Act increased the federal presence: "The
682 Dawes Act created a nightmare of paperwork for the Interior
683 Department and it failed to make Indians into farmers" (Sansom-
684 Flood et al., 1989:36). By 1896, the Yanktons had lost an
685 estimated 230,000 acres of their 430,000-acre reservation
686 (Sansom-Flood et al., 1989:36). Hollow Horn, a prominent
687 Yankton, observed with uncanny foresight:

688 You know what is going to happen after the allotments are
689 all gone? They will take our land...we will lose it.
690 And then they'll probably take our gravestones and build
691 their buildings on top of us. (Sansom-Flood et al.,
692 1989:36)

693 In 1892, three commissioners sent from the Secretary of the
694 Interior came to the Yankton reservation to negotiate for the
695 sale of surplus lands with a council of 24 tribal members:

696 The commissioners...were determined to make a success of
697 their undertaking, and when the opposition showed
698 strength, they became liberal in expending money. They
699 employed a small army of interpreters, couriers, and
700 messengers...Since then, those whose names were attached
701 to the document have asked me many times what their names

702 are signed to, and many of those who refused to sign have
703 desired me to ascertain the terms of the agreement they
704 declined to sign; but as no copy of it was left here, and
705 as it was never read in open meeting but once, and was
706 kept closely sealed from the public, I have not been able
707 to make any satisfactory explanation... (ARCIA 1892:310-
708 311)

709 In the Agreement of 1892, the Yankton Sioux reluctantly
710 agreed to sell approximately 160,000 acres (of 430,000 acres) for
711 \$600,000, plus a \$20 gold piece for each male over the age of 18
712 (Sansom-Flood et al 1989:41). They received \$2.98 per acre for
713 the surplus cession, fair market value was later estimated at
714 \$6.65 per acre (Wishart 1990:99).

715 In 1895, the Yanktons received the first installment of
716 their payment, \$161,475 (Sansom-Flood et al. 1989:41). Tribal
717 members received as much as \$100 dollars apiece in a lump-sum
718 payment;

719 When the payment came, the tribe had the first relief
720 from poverty in nearly forty years. When word of the
721 payment reached the newspapers, unscrupulous "vultures"
722 descended on the reservation from adjoining settlements
723 with all kinds of schemes devised to take Indian money.
724 (Sansom-Flood et al 1989:41)

-725 By 1902, the Greenwood Agency had ceased providing gratis
726 supplies for the needy: "within half a century, most officials
727 thought Yanktons were ready to move from tribalism to
728 citizenship, and they began to cut back on their training
729 efforts" (Hoover 1988:52). The final payment of their 50-year
730 annuities (per the Treaty of 1858) was paid out in 1908.

731 Under the Agreement of 1892, individual allotments on the
732 Yankton reservation totalled 267,943 acres; 1,253 acres were
733 reserved for the church, Indian schools, and the Greenwood
734 Agency. This left an available surplus of 151,692 acres for
735 settlement and 8,065 acres were set aside for South Dakota
736 schools (McCurdy n.d.). On May 16, 1895, President Grover
737 Cleveland proclaimed the ceded Yankton lands open for settlement
738 (29 Stat. 865). Within a decade of the 1892 agreement, the
739 surplus lands had been settled by non-Indian settlers (mostly
740 Czechs), who founded the towns of Lake Andes and Wagner (Hoover
741 1988).

742 By the 1920s most Yanktons had received their allotments in
743 fee patent and the majority had either lost or sold their land
744 (Hoover 1988). With fee patents came full citizenship status,
745 including voting rights and taxation. Many fee patents were sold
746 for taxes. An "Industrial Survey" initiated by the Commissioner
747 of Indian Affairs in 1922 found that of over 2,000 tribal

members, only three or four family heads supported their families by farming and ranching (Hoover 1988:56). The Survey also reported food shortages, alcoholism, and inadequate housing. The chronic poverty on the Yankton reservation in particular and in Indian Country in general was compounded by the regional decline in the agricultural economy in the 1920s and further exacerbated by the Great Depression in the 1930s.

Indian Reorganization Act

In 1932, the Yankton Sioux adopted their first constitution. This pre-dated the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA--a.k.a. Wheeler-Howard Act, 1934), which allowed tribal governments to incorporate and participate in certain federal programs designed to strengthen tribal sovereignty. Perhaps the most important feature of the IRA was that it ended allotment in severalty, and provided for trust protection of any remaining individual patents or tribally-held lands.

The Yanktons chose to forego participation in the Indian Reorganization Act (see Chapter 29). The Yanktons delayed ratifying a new constitution until 1963, at which time they modified their original 1932 constitution.

By the 1950s, less than 42,000 acres remained as individual allotments from their 268,000 acres allotted in 1892; this figure represents less than 10 percent of the reservation set aside by the Treaty of 1858 (Hoover 1988:66). With dispossession of the tribal landbase and federal policies favoring relocation, many tribal members left the reservation in search of economic opportunities, further undermining the transmission of traditional religion and culture.

Disestablishment of the Yankton Sioux Reservation

In the 1970s and 1980s the Yanktons suffered yet another loss to their reservation base and perceived tribal jurisdiction. Emboldened by a court decision which ultimately disestablished the boundaries of the Lake Traverse reservation (Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux) in South Dakota (*DeCoteau v. District County Court*), the State of South Dakota moved successfully to disestablish the Yankton Sioux reservation in the state's Supreme Court. The Yankton reservation is still a federally-recognized reservation. The following discussion is specific only to the lack of state recognition, which has had profound implications for competing jurisdictions within the external boundaries of the federally-recognized Yankton Sioux reservation.

On two occasions (*State v. Thompson* [1984] and *State v. Williamson* [1973]), the South Dakota Supreme Court ruled that the language of the Agreement of 1892 disestablished the Yankton Sioux reservation boundaries. The South Dakota State Supreme

793 Court rulings are based on the premise that the U.S. Congress
794 intended to disestablish the U.S. reservation system with the
795 Dawes Act and the subsequent surplus lands statutes.

796 In *U.S. v. Celestine* (215 U.S. 278, 185 [1909]), the Supreme
797 Court ruled that only Congress can divest reservations of land
798 and diminish reservation boundaries. The Yankton case has never
799 been tried in a federal venue. The timing of the court cases
800 came when the Yanktons were unable to finance adequate litigation
801 to change the venue to federal court. Arguably, as part of the
802 trust responsibility, the BIA should have underwritten this
803 expense and provided the necessary assistance to protect the
804 jurisdictional issues at stake.

805 The state disestablishment of the Yankton Sioux reservation
806 boundaries has had profound consequences on the exercise of
807 tribal jurisdiction within the external boundaries of the Yankton
808 Sioux reservation. Recently, the Yankton tribe filed an
809 injunction against Charles Mix County for attempting to build a
810 landfill within the external boundaries of the reservation
811 without tribal permission. In June of 1994, the Environmental
812 Protection Agency (EPA) held informational hearings to solicit
813 feedback on the issue of establishing solid waste landfills
814 within the "former" external boundaries of the Yankton and
815 Rosebud Sioux reservations. This situation further complicates
816 the definition of the federal status of the Yankton reservation,
817 which had not previously been challenged. The state
-818 disestablishment has not, however, affected tribal jurisdiction
819 over hunting and fishing rights, which are still recognized by
820 the state of South Dakota.

821 With the increased revenues received from the tribal casino
822 at Pickstown, South Dakota, the tribe is now in a position to
823 litigate if necessary. The Yankton Sioux Tribe opened the Fort
824 Randall Casino in 1991. The casino employs approximately 600
825 individuals and is the single largest employer (Indian and non-
826 Indian) in the vicinity. The casino reportedly generates nearly
827 \$30 million annually, a percentage of which is paid to the tribe.
828 The increased revenues are being used to set up infrastructure to
829 facilitate the expression of reservation jurisdiction, e.g.,
830 tribal courts, zoning, etc. It is assumed that setting up tribal
831 infrastructure (court system, police, zoning, etc.) will de facto
832 achieve some of the jurisdictional goals of the Yankton Sioux
833 tribe. Gaming revenues are also being used for various social
834 programs targeting the elderly and youth.

835 THE NEBRASKA SANTEE SIOUX

836 Introduction

837 In his book *History of the Santee Sioux*, Roy W. Meyer
838 (1993:371) observes that "the history of the Santee Sioux is the

history of the American Indians." The Santees' history follows a familiar and oft-repeated historical pattern of land cessions, attempted resistance, removal to undesirable land, and "a massive onslaught on the native culture, partly deliberate, partly fortuitous" (Meyer 1993:371). Reservation-era history for the Santees' began before their arrival in Nebraska and provides an important context for understanding why they live where they do today. Consequently, this section will trace the Santees' history after settling on their initial Minnesota reservation, by describing treaty and legislative history, including the assimilation policy inherent in Indian legislation; the causes of the 1862 uprising; the process of their resulting removal to Nebraska; and the current state of the Santees' reservation.

Treaties

The name Santee refers to the easternmost four of the seven traditional "council fires" (see Chapter 4) of the Sioux or Dakota Nation: the Mdewakantons, the Wahpekutes, the Sissetons, and the Wahpetons, although only the Mdewakantons and Wahpekutes use this name for themselves (Albers and James 1986:13). The Santees in Nebraska are mainly from the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute divisions. Previous to and during early contact with Europeans, the Santees inhabited southern Minnesota and adjacent portions of Iowa, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas (Howard 1966:2-3).

Early American governmental contact with the Santees was instituted "to establish United States sovereignty over the territory," and ultimately to achieve an advantage over the British (Meyer 1993:24). The American military officer, Zebulon Pike, negotiated with the four bands to obtain land cessions for military posts, to make peace between warring tribes, and to "lay the groundwork for a series of 'factories'," government-operated trading posts which sold goods to Indians at lower prices than commercial traders (Meyer 1993:24).

Pike's treaty with the Santees was signed in 1805 (see Appendix II). Signed by seven "chiefs" (not all of whom may have been regarded as such by their own people), it ceded two tracts of land, comprising about 100,000 acres, for \$2,000 (Meyer 1993:24-5). Although far less than the worth of the land, this went unpaid until 1819, when a military fort was built between the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers (Meyer 1993:32). In 1806, Pike attempted to negotiate peace between the Santees and their long-standing enemies, the Chippewas, without success (Meyer 1993:26-7). Failed American attempts to negotiate intertribal peace were to become chronic; in 1823 a council was held to draw boundaries between the Sacs and Foxes, the four Santee bands, and the Chippewas, in order to end intertribal warfare over the control of territory (Meyer 1993:39-40). Another attempt in 1830 (Treaty of Prairie du Chien) caused the Santees and the Sacs and Foxes to cede 20-mile-wide strips along their territorial

887 boundaries in return for a cash annuity, educational fund, and
888 blacksmith and tools (Meyer 1993:50). Santee dependence on
889 annuities assisted the government in its goal of "civilizing the
890 Sioux," otherwise known as the policy of assimilation (Meyer
891 1993:50).

892 An 1837 treaty effectively ceded the Santees' claims to
893 lands east of the Mississippi, satisfying pressure to open
894 timberlands for use and ostensibly placing an additional buffer
895 on Santee/Chippewa hostility (Meyer 1993:55-6). In return, "the
896 United States promised to invest the sum of \$300,000 and to pay
897 to the chiefs and braves annually forever an income of not less
898 than five per cent" of that amount (Meyer 1993:58). In addition,
899 money would be spent for medicine; agricultural tools; livestock;
900 the salaries of a physician, farmers, and blacksmiths; and goods
901 and provisions (Meyer 1993:58).

902 The result of this treaty was the opposite of what was
903 planned; the annuities were often considerably delayed and fell
904 short of what was promised. Also, rampant whiskey selling in the
905 vicinity brought about increased alcohol-related problems for the
906 Santees. As a result of these pressures and many others, Sioux/
907 Chippewa hostilities actually increased (Meyer 1993:59-61).

908 In spite of these early setbacks, the "civilization"
909 programs forged ahead. As agent R.W. Spicer commented in 1861,
910 "the cardinal and fixed object of the government being the
911 civilization of the Indians, the best means to that end should be
912 sought out, adopted, and vigourously and systematically pursued"
913 (ARCIA 1861:88). Thus, Santee agent Lawrence Taliaferro
914 established projects such as the Eatonville farm for the
915 agricultural education of the Santees (Meyer 1993:49-50). The
916 Santees were relatively interested in this scheme, due to the
917 scarcity of game. In 1833, missionaries began arriving to teach
918 agriculture and convert the Santees to Christianity (Meyer
919 1993:52). These two themes, Christianization and settlement on
920 family farms, were major goals of the assimilation policies
921 carried out with the Santees throughout the remainder of their
922 history.

923 The treaties of 1851 (Mendota and Traverse des Sioux)
924 constituted an advance for both assimilation and the interests of
925 American settlers. Governor of Minnesota Territory Alexander
926 Ramsey and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea began
927 negotiations with the intention of buying land for white
928 settlement (Meyer 1993:77). They first negotiated the Treaty of
929 Traverse des Sioux with the Upper Santees, who had not been
930 involved in earlier treaty-making and had less experience in
931 protecting their interests. This treaty was a "fait accompli"
932 used to coerce the Lower Santees into accepting similar terms
933 (Meyer 1993:78, 80).

934 The negotiators next made the Treaty of Mendota with the
935 Mdewakantons and Wahpekutes, who comprised the Lower Santees
936 (Meyer 1993:81). The two treaties were similar, both including
937 cash annuities; the establishments of schools, blacksmiths,
938 mills, and farms; goods and provisions; funds for "general
939 agricultural and civilization purposes"; a reservation; and the
940 costs of removal to the reservation (Meyer 1993:80). The Treaty
941 of Mendota differed from Traverse des Sioux in that it promised a
942 smaller payment, an promise to pay all 1837 annuities in cash,
943 and, initially, a different reservation area (the last provision
944 was subsequently stricken by the U.S. Senate) (Meyer 1993:83-4).
945 The final document did not include the promise of a reservation,
946 despite Santee dissatisfaction with this alteration (Meyer
947 1993:86).

948 The Senate finally confirmed Santee title to the reservation
949 in 1860 (Meyer 1993:89), but by 1858 the Santees were already
950 living on this stretch of land along the Minnesota River valley,
951 which was 150 miles long and 10 miles wide (Wilson 1981: 284).
952 The reservation was, for "both the Upper and Lower Sioux...a
953 tract of land extending...from Little Rock creek to Lac Traverse"
954 (ARCIA 1859: 83). The move to the reservation was a major step
955 forward for assimilationists. In 1850, the members of the Dakota
956 Mission had created an "Outline of a Plan for Civilizing the
957 Dakotas" (Meyer 1993:96), recommending a move onto separate
958 family farms, the imposition of laws and government, and an
959 educational fund. The Santees would be taught to read and write
960 in their own language, and manual labor boarding schools would be
961 built and training would be taught in English. Annuities would
962 be paid to families rather than to chiefs (Meyer 1993:96-7). The
963 treaties included many of these ideas, which became policy on the
964 reservation (Meyer 1993:97).

965 According to Meyer (1993:97), "The object of this plan was
966 to break up the community system among the Sioux and eliminate
967 the favoritism that prevailed when the chiefs controlled the
968 distribution of annuities." This plan dissolved the former
969 social organization, and assimilated the Santees into
970 Euroamerican patterns of economic and social behavior and
971 government.

972 *Resistance*

973 The uprising of 1862 which eventually led to the Santees'
974 removal to Nebraska resulted from displeasure with treaties and
975 agents, as well as generally poor relations between the Santees
976 and Euroamerican settlers (Brown 1981:29; Wilson 1981:284-5). In
977 1857 the situation worsened when a band of Wahpekutes, led by an
978 outlawed chief named Inkpaduta, killed some white settlers and
979 took others hostage (Meyer 1993:97). According to Meyer
980 (1993:100-101), this event caused a dangerous change in the
981 attitudes of both Indians and Europeans: while "the Indians

982 learned that attacks on whites could go unpunished and that
983 Indian Bureau officials could be induced to back down from
984 previously stated positions," the attacks increased settlers'
985 anxiety about a possible uprising and hostility against the
986 Santees increased as a result.

987 Punishment of "the whole Sioux nation" for Inkpaduta's
988 misdeeds, as well as encroachments of settlers near and onto the
989 reservation, added to the Santees' grievances (Meyer1993: 115).
990 In 1862, frustrating delays in the delivery of goods and
991 annuities to the nearly starving Santees intensified the
992 situation (Brown 1981:29). The uprising was touched off by the
993 killing of several settlers by a group of young Santee men
994 (Wilson 1981:285). In response to this event, a council held by
995 Chief Little Crow decided that war, now considered inevitable,
996 may as well be started (Brown1981:29).

997 The war began on August 18, 1862, when Santee warriors
998 attacked the Lower Agency and looted agency stores (Meyer
999 1993:117). The Santees were never united in the war effort; the
1000 vast majority of Sissetons and Wahpetons did not join (Albers and
1001 James 1986:14); and the chiefs did not have adequate control over
1002 their warriors to effect coordinated actions (Brown 1981:32-3).
1003 As a result, the Santees won only one engagement during the brief
1004 war (Meyer 1993:118). The war ended on September 27, when former
1005 Governor Henry H. Sibley retook the Santees' captives and Little
1006 Crow and his followers fled to the Dakota prairies (Meyer
1007 1993:123).

1008 Following the failure of the uprising, anti-Indian sentiment
1009 was at its peak. Santee agent Galbraith strongly reflected this
1010 in his annual report:

1011 Of the Sioux I know a little from observation. They are
1012 bigoted, barbarous and exceedingly superstitious. They
1013 regard most of the vices as virtues...[the Reverend S.R.
1014 Riggs] says the 'devil' caused the outbreak; and if ever the
1015 devil was well represented on earth, he certainly is in the
1016 ancient religious and social customs of the Sioux Indians.
1017 (ARCIA 1863:275, 277)

1018 Meanwhile, the general public demanded the total extermination of
1019 the Santees (Meyer 1993:124-125).

1020 These sentiments were not conducive to conducting fair
1021 trials of the captured Santee combatants. The investigation
1022 focused on all adult Santee males and was based on the principle
1023 that

1024 'the innocent could make their innocence appear.' Thus the
1025 revered Anglo-Saxon principle of law that a person is
1026 considered innocent until proved guilty was reversed in the

1027 case of Indians. (S.R. Riggs quoted in Meyer 1993:125)

1028 A major participant in the trial proceedings, the missionary S.R.
1029 Riggs himself had serious doubts about the accuracy of the
1030 trials, noting that the greater part of those charged "were
1031 condemned on general principles, without any specific charges
1032 proved" (Meyer 1993:127).

1033 The judges found 303 Santee individuals guilty of murder and
1034 sentenced them to death by hanging. President Lincoln reviewed
1035 the cases and reduced the number to 39. In the end, 38 Santee
1036 men were executed on December 26, 1862 (Brown 1981:35).

1037 The remaining prisoners were held at Mankato until April,
1038 1863, when they were moved to Camp McClellan near Davenport, Iowa
1039 (Meyer 1993:136, 143-144). Their families were held at Fort
1040 Snelling (Meyer 1993:136). The crowded conditions of these
1041 camps, which contributed to the spread of the disease, and the
1042 cold of winter caused many deaths among those held (Meyer
1043 1993:137-138).

1044 Removal

1045 Extermination not being carried out, the citizens of
1046 Minnesota demanded the expulsion of all Indians from the state
1047 (Meyer 1993:133), including the Winnebago tribe even though they
1048 had taken no part in the uprising. Two acts provided for
1049 removal. An act of February 16, 1863, abrogated all treaties
1050 with the Santees, denying them all associated benefits, including
1051 rights of occupancy (ARCIA 1865:567). An act of March 3, 1863,
1052 called on the President to assign the Santees a reservation
1053 outside Minnesota, with enough land "to provide each member of
1054 the tribe willing to farm with 'eighty acres of good agricultural
1055 lands...'" (Meyer 1993:140). Proceeds from the sale of the
1056 Santees' Minnesota land was to be used to advance farming, rather
1057 than to be directly paid to the Santees. Congress also
1058 appropriated funds for removal and establishment of the Santees
1059 on a new reservation (Meyer 1993:140-141).

1060 Accordingly, Superintendent Clark W. Thompson chose a new
1061 reservation on Crow Creek, 80 miles above Fort Randall, in May,
1062 1863 (ARCIA 1863:30), a choice made hurriedly since the Santees
1063 were already on their way to the area (Meyer 1993:142). In his
1064 report, Thompson noted some apprehension about the prospects for
1065 the agricultural season: "the only drawback that I fear is the
1066 dry weather. On the hills the grass is already dried up; but
1067 this is said to be an unusual season" (ARCIA 1863:305).

1068 The season proved not to be unusual for Crow Creek, however.
1069 A year later, the agent described it in his annual report as a
1070 "wilderness of dry prairie for hundreds of miles around" (Meyer
1071 1993:146, quoting from ARCIA 1864:411). Out of the original

1072 1,300 Santees who made the move to Crow Creek, 300 died during
1073 the first few months (Brown 1981:35). Agriculture was
1074 impossible, the food brought was rotten, and funds were
1075 inadequate to feed the Santees (Meyer 1993:147-148).

1076 In the fall of 1865, a peace commission visited Crow Creek.
1077 In response to the state of "semi-starvation" there, it was
1078 decided to move the Santees again (ARCIA 1866:225-228). The
1079 Santee reservation in Nebraska was created through a series of
1080 Presidential Orders (see Appendix I). On February 27, 1866, four
1081 townships on the Niobrara River in what is now Knox County,
1082 Nebraska, were set aside for them (Meyer 1964:63-64). On July
1083 20, the amount of land was nearly doubled, supplementing scarce
1084 timberland (Meyer 1964:76). On November 16, 1867, one full
1085 township and part of another containing valuable timber were
1086 added while two townships, including the town of Niobrara, were
1087 returned to the market (Meyer 1964:83) (see Map ____).

1088 In 1890 the agent noted that the land was about three-
1089 fourths rocky. The Missouri River bottomland was rich but
1090 subject to flooding and the land on Bazile and Mini Waste creeks
1091 was the best on the reservation (ARCIA 1890:141). When the
1092 boundaries were finally determined in 1869, the reservation was a
1093 "rectangular tract of land, twelve miles from east to west and
1094 averaging about fifteen miles from north to south" (Meyer
1095 1964:94) (See Map ____).

1096 The 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie provided for individual
1097 allotments on the new reservation. The removal act of 1863 "had
1098 contained a similar provision, but now the Indians' consent was
1099 obtained and the size of the proposed allotments increased from
1100 80 to 160 acres" (Meyer 1993:162). The Dawes Act of 1887 changed
1101 the amount of Santee-owned land again. It provided for general
1102 allotment and opening of nonallotted land to settlers (Meyer
1103 1993:180). After allotment, the Santees held 71,784.56 acres
1104 plus 1,310.7 reserved for agency, school, and missionary use, and
1105 42,160.56 acres were opened for settlement (Meyer 1993:182).

1106 According to Meyer (1993:175), "the Santee Agency had a
1107 remarkably placid history during the last three decades of the
1108 nineteenth century." The Santees experienced no upheavals during
1109 this time; rather "there were the singing of hymns, the daily
1110 routine of the classrooms, the seasonal round of planting and
1111 harvest" (Meyer 1993:175). During this time, the main force in
1112 Santee life was assimilation.

1113 *Assimilation*

1114 Assimilation continued on the Nebraska reservation as
1115 allotments encouraged farming, and missionaries and government
1116 schools continued the education effort. The agents' influence,
1117 the schools, and the missionaries were the means of assimilation,

1118 while their efforts were backed up by dependence on annuities.
1119 In 1860 agent Joseph R. Brown noted that, in encouraging the
1120 desired behavior among the Santees, "the annuities form a
1121 powerful engine with which to govern refractory Indians" (ARCIA
1122 1860:61).

1123 Assimilation continued in Nebraska through new means. In
1124 1866 the use of the Dakota language was banned in all schools
1125 (Meyer 1993:188), for while Indians

1126 were educated in their native tongue...they were still
1127 Indians. And, as everyone knew, the primary aim of our
1128 Indian policy was to transform Indians into white men.
1129 (Meyer 1993:177)

1130 In 1878 the Santees voted to abolish the traditional
1131 chieftainship system in favor of a system of elected councilors,
1132 further replacing the Santee pattern of government with a
1133 European pattern (ARCIA 1878:99). Citizenship and the right to
1134 vote also later reinforced this shift from a traditional form of
1135 governance (Meyer 1993:194). According to Meyer,

1136 the initiative had passed from the Indians themselves to the
1137 representatives of the white man's government in
1138 Washington...the dependence on the white man for much of
1139 their material culture was being extended to a dependence on
1140 him for their social and political organization as well.
1141 Coupled with the mass acceptance of Christianity, this meant
1142 that the Santee Sioux were losing their specifically Indian
1143 cultural identity. (Meyer 1993:154)

1144 *The Santees in Nebraska*

1145 Assimilation did not proceed altogether smoothly, however.
1146 Droughts in the 1880s and 1890s and the rental of most Santee
1147 land to white farmers held back farming efforts (Meyer 1993:190,
1148 196). In addition, the Santees became citizens when they became
1149 landowners, so special liquor laws no longer applied to them and
1150 intemperance increased (Meyer 1993:194-5). Meanwhile, in 1893
1151 two payments were made, one for the purpose of buying land for
1152 the children who had been born since allotments were made, and
1153 the other as a result of the Indian Appropriations Act, which
1154 allowed the payment from the sale of the old reservation to be
1155 made in cash (ARCIA 1893:95).

1156 At the beginning of the twentieth century, the amount of
1157 Indian-owned land continued to dwindle and the Bureau of Indian
1158 Affairs began withdrawing services from some tribes (Meyer
1159 1993:294). The 1926 Meriam Report reflected the effects of this
1160 policy, for the first time casting doubt on the efficacy of
1161 assimilationism. It

described the economic plight of the Indian in sober prose, backed by statistics, and emphasized the failure of allotment. It offered recommendations for the reform of Indian policy--recommendations that amounted to a repudiation of the time-honored thesis that the Indians must ultimately be totally assimilated to the larger society. (Meyer 1993:295)

Between the 1930s and 1960s Indian policy wavered back and forth between assimilation, self-determination, and termination (Meyer 1993:295-296; see also Chapter 29). The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act reversed the policy of assimilation by encouraging Indians to retain their culture and by allowing them an opportunity to "organize as legal entities and draw up constitutions for effective tribal government" (Meyer 1993:295). However, in the 1950s the government's policy returned to the self-sufficiency of the Indian and the end of government services.

The Santees' history in the twentieth century reflects these policy shifts. Their land dwindled as it was subdivided into virtual uselessness among inheritors and subsequently sold. Exacerbating the problem, a competency board began issuing first-class patents to land in 1910. Upon receiving these patents most Santees immediately sold their land (Meyer 1993:298-299). In addition, "there was a gradual withdrawal of government services, marked by the closing of the agency in 1917" (Meyer 1993:296).

In 1917 came the culmination of a claims case instituted by the Mdewakantons and Wahpekutes for restoration of annuity payments included in the treaties of 1837 and 1851, which had been abrogated after the uprising of 1862 (Wilson 1981:285, 290). The underpinnings for this case had begun much earlier, at a council held in December, 1884 (Wilson 1981:285). After legislative entanglements lasting for more than 30 years, the litigants were awarded \$386,597.89 (Wilson 1981:290).

The Santees accepted the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, and in 1936 voted to accept a constitution and bylaws which reflected a wish to move toward state rather than tribal control (Meyer 1993:308, 311). The depression years caused a crisis for the Santees, leading to nearly total dependence on the federal government for work and other relief (Meyer 1993:307, 308-309, 312). There was a 30 percent increase in Indian population on the reservation between 1930 and 1940, but lack of local employment opportunities and the government's new policy of termination and relocation led to a 65 percent decrease of reservation population between 1940 and 1960 (Meyer 1993:312-313). In addition, Indian-owned allotted land decreased from the original 69,100 acres allotted in 1885 to only 6,162 in 1962 (Meyer 1964:94).

1209 In the 1960s, the population of the Santee reservation had
1210 dropped to below 300, and most remaining tribal land was rented
1211 to white farmers. It seemed that the Santees had indeed been
1212 victims of rapidly changing government policies. Since then,
1213 however, prospects for the Santees have brightened considerably.
1214 Speaking of the community of Santee, Meyer (1993:373) has
1215 observed that the town "...has become a busy, vibrant community,
1216 its population and employment opportunities growing, its identity
1217 and sense of Indianness revived."

1218 The growth of job opportunities near the reservation
1219 contributed to this revival. Jobs have become available in
1220 education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health
1221 Service, tribal government, contracts with the state of Nebraska,
1222 and at a local pharmaceutical company (Meyer 1993:373-4). The
1223 tribe has also been negotiating for possible recreation-oriented
1224 enterprises on nearby Lewis and Clark Lake and in commercial
1225 gaming (Meyer 1993:374). In 1974 the Santees acquired land for a
1226 tribally-owned ranch which supports 600 cattle. Since 1960,
1227 tribal land increased from 2,563 acres to 20,000 (Meyer
1228 1993:374).

1229 Recently, an interest in traditional culture has revived as
1230 well, and a powwow is held every third week of June (Meyer
1231 1993:275). The Nebraska Santees were shorn of much of their
1232 traditional culture following their defeat in an armed conflict
1233 with the United States, but now look forward to the gradual
1234 resumption of former customs and beliefs:

1235 Tribal leaders have expressed the belief that three or four
1236 generations will be needed for the recovery of the old
1237 culture and for acceptance by the non-Indian population of
1238 their neighbors' right to preserve this culture. (Meyer
1239 1993:375)

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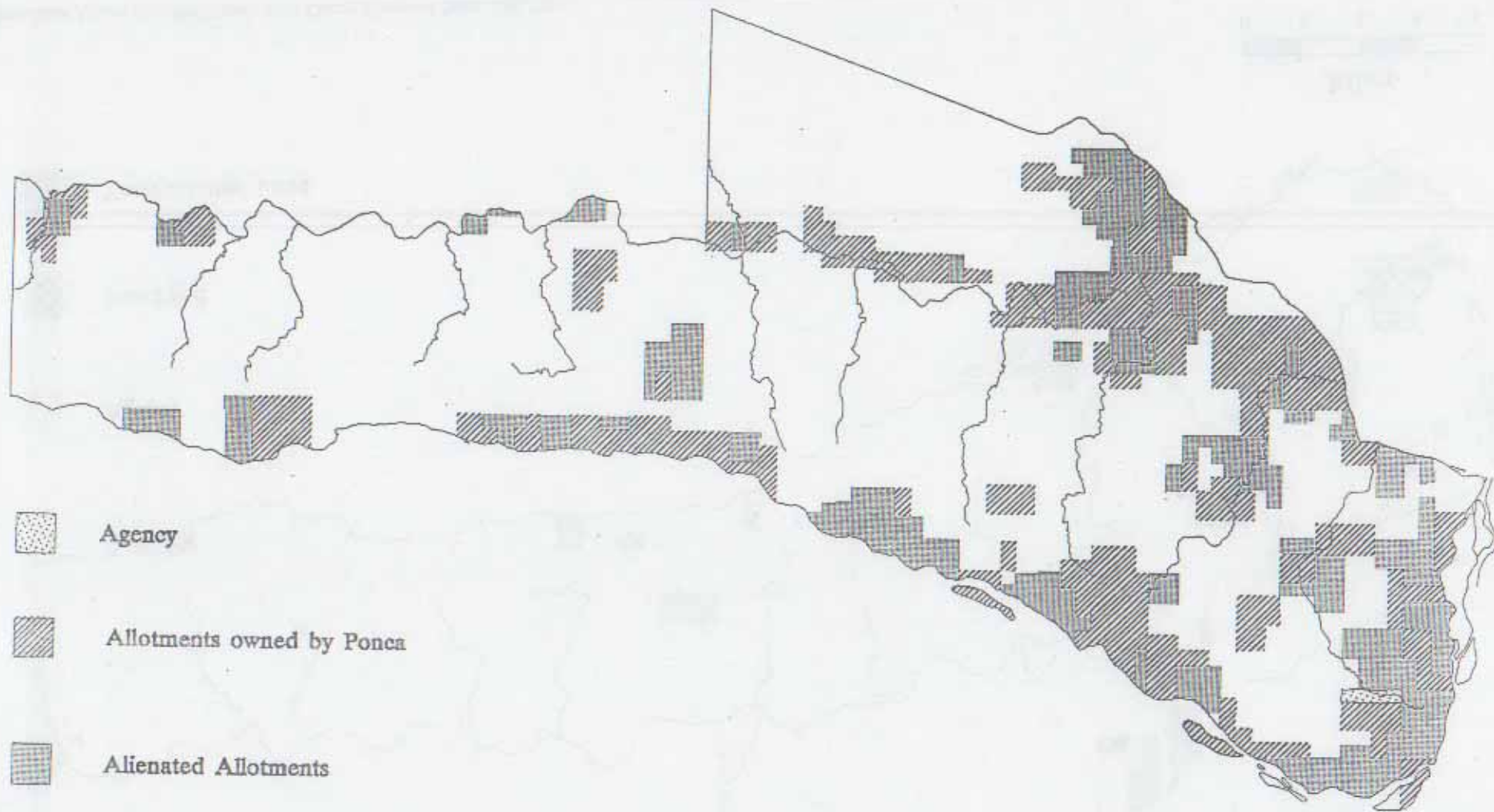
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Figure 7-1: Location of Ponca Allotments



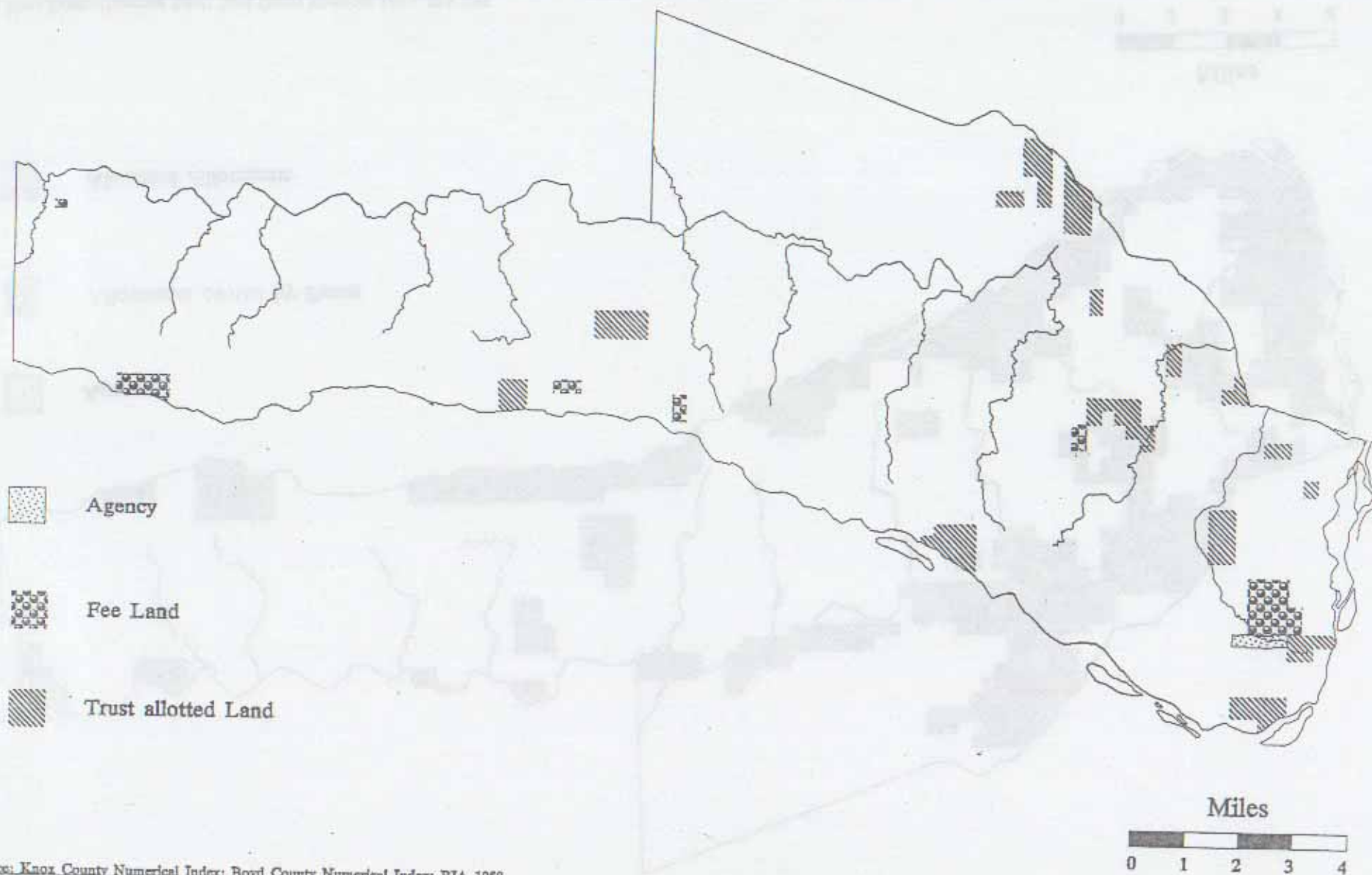
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Figure 7-2: Ponca Landholdings in 1916

7-2

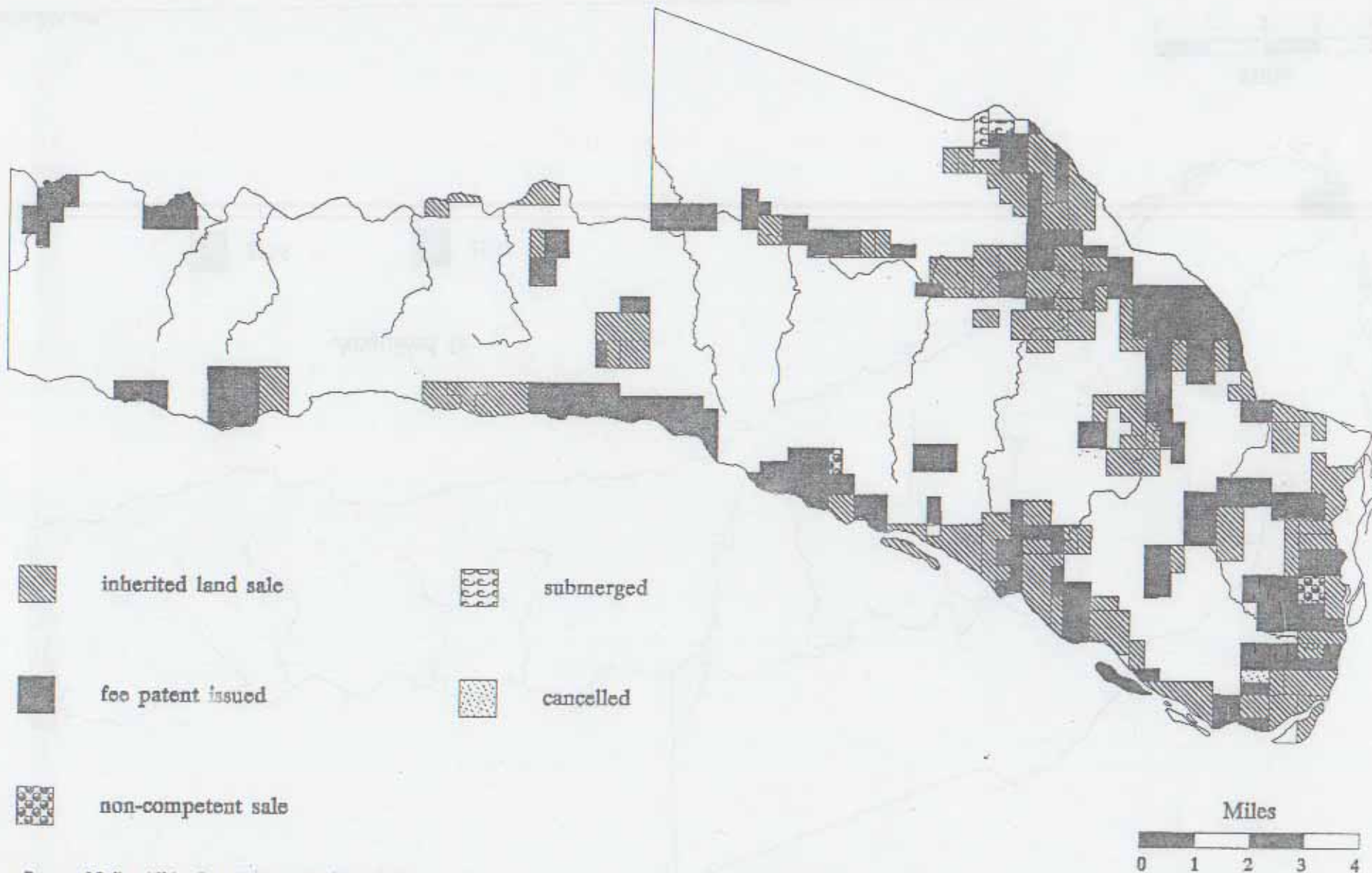
Source: Knox County Numerical Index; Boyd County Numerical Index; BIA 1958



Source: Knox County Numerical Index; Boyd County Numerical Index; BIA 1958

Figure 12: Ponca Landholdings in 1934

7-3



Source: Bureau of Indian Affairs. Land Index, Ponca (Nebraska).

Figure 13: Reason for Land Alienation

7-4

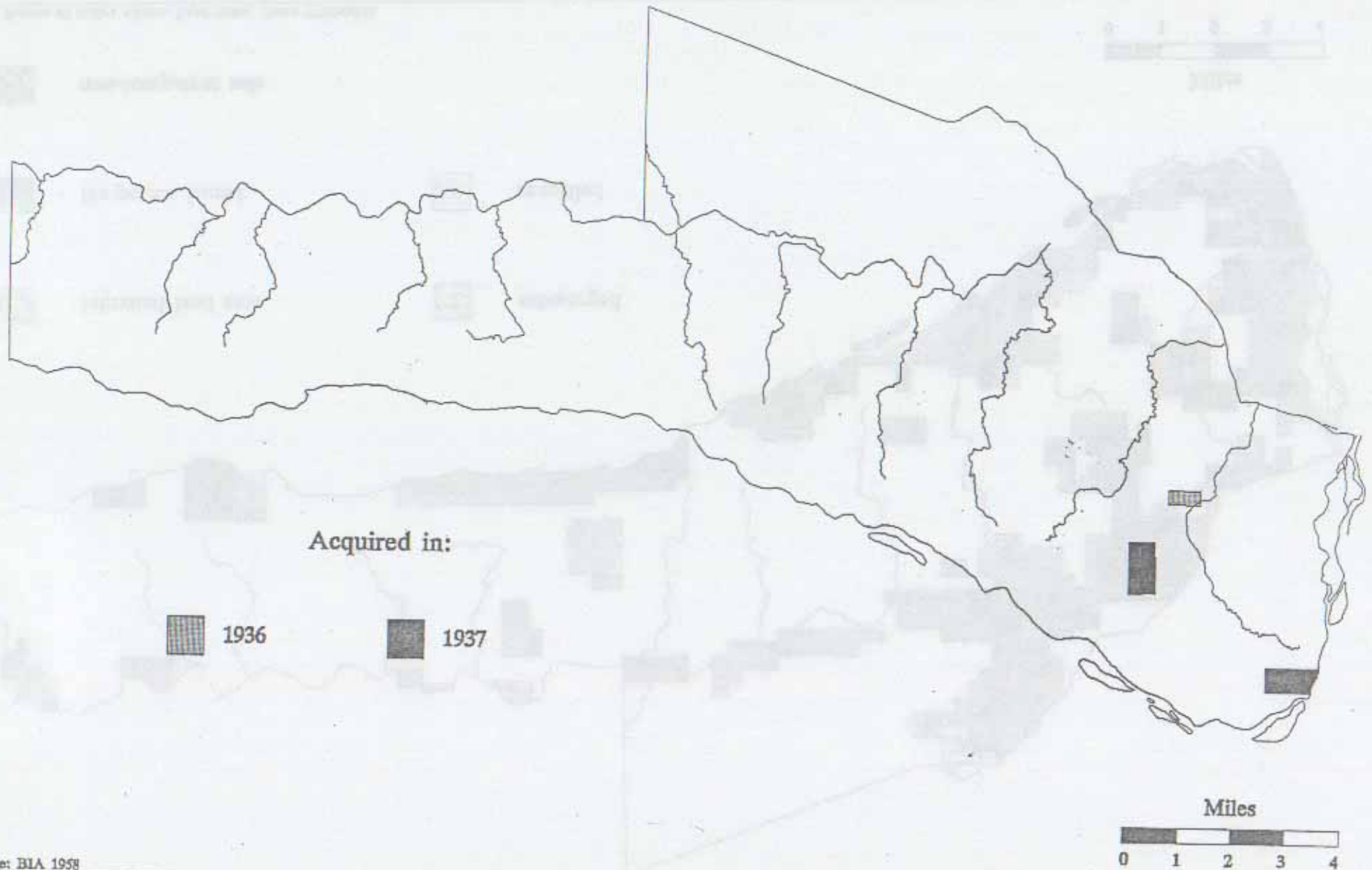


Figure 1-5: Tribal Lands Acquired under the IRA

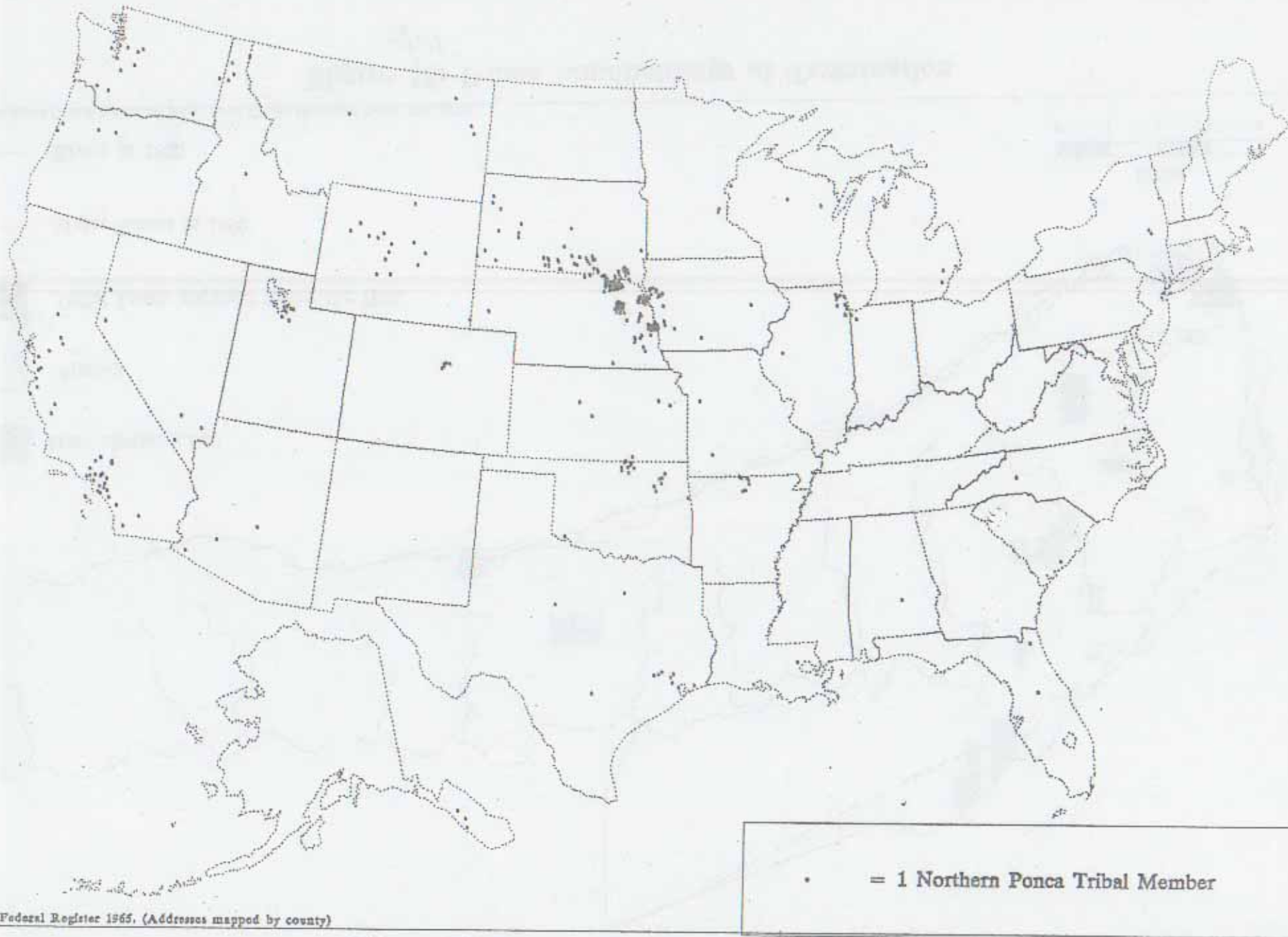


Figure 7-6: Ponca Distribution in 1965

7-6

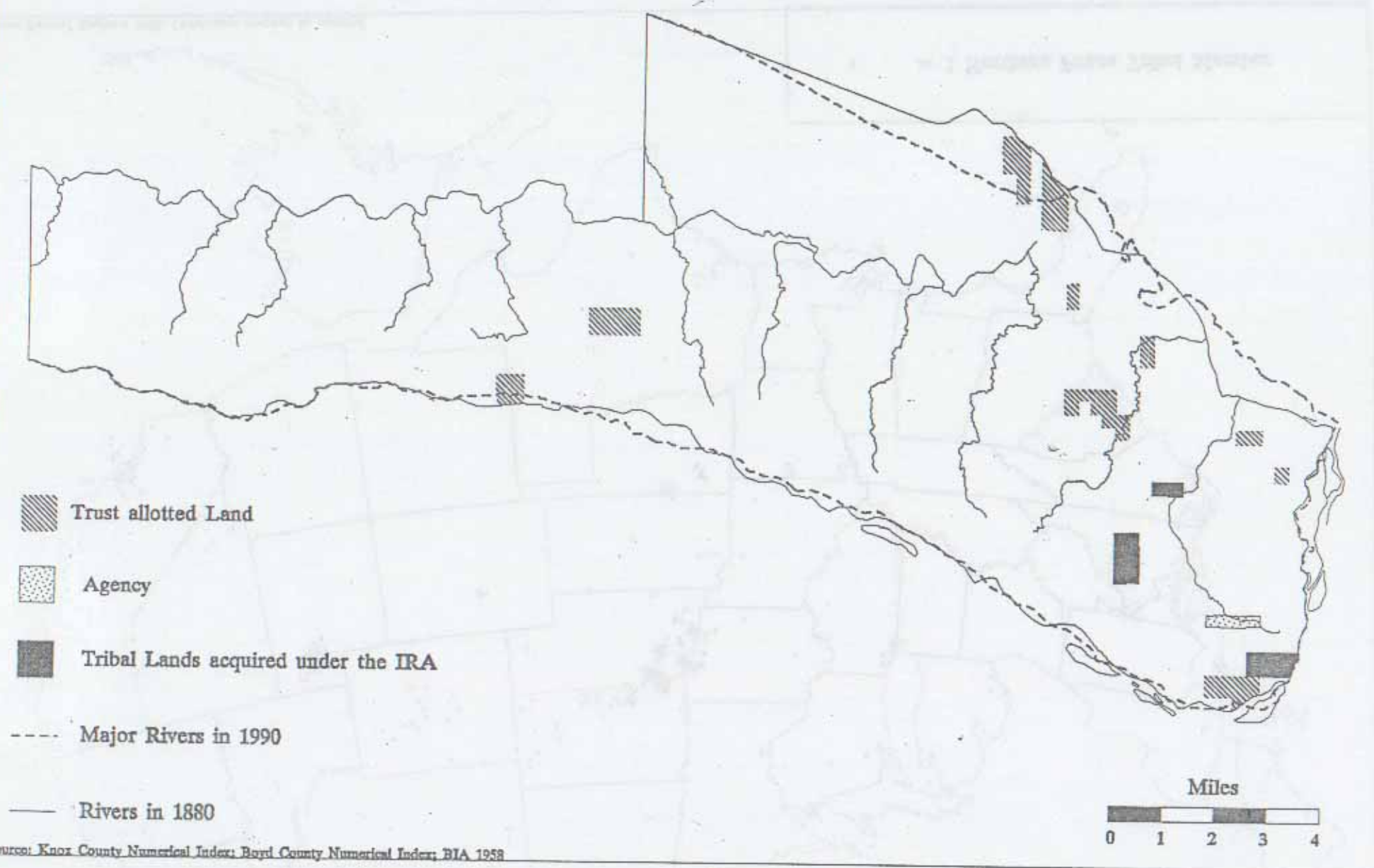


Figure 16: Ponca Landholdings at Termination

7-7

[Revised: 24 November 1993]

CHAPTER 8

OMAHAS

By Rebecca Hautzinger

History of Anthropological Research

During the 1880s, ethnologists James Owen Dorsey, Alice C. Fletcher, and Francis La Flesche compiled detailed ethnographies about the Omaha people for publication by the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. Dorsey's *Omaha Sociology* (1884), and *The Omaha Tribe* by Fletcher and La Flesche (1911), remain fundamental references for information on Omaha society, culture and history. Included in these works, and in a brief tribal history written by Henry Fontenelle (1885), are tribal oral traditions, virtually the only sources for Omaha history before the early eighteenth century (O'Shea and Ludwickson, 1992a:16). The methodology and conclusions of later ethnographies by Reo F. Fortune (*Omaha Secret Societies*, 1932) and Margaret Mead (*The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe*, 1932) have been criticized, but offer some insight into the cultural and environmental stresses faced by the Omahas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

More recent publications have expanded, clarified or challenged earlier research. Norma Kidd Green (*Iron Eye's Family: The Children of Joseph La Flesche*, 1969) utilized family papers and other unpublished sources to recreate the history of this influential Omaha family. *Omaha Tribal Myths and Trickster Tales* is an extensive collection of oral myths and legends with new translations and interpretations by Nebraska folklorist Roger L. Welsch (1981)[NIRC]. In *Two Crows Denies It: A History of Controversy in Omaha Sociology*, R. H. Barnes (1984) challenged accepted models of Omaha kinship affiliations and tribal organization. Michael L. Tate (1991) synthesized numerous scattered references to the Omaha into one volume, *The Upstream People: An Annotated Research Bibliography of the Omaha Tribe*. John M. O'Shea and John Ludwickson (1992a) incorporated unpublished archaeological work performed by John L. Champe between 1939 and 1942 into *Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Omaha Indians: The Big Village Site*. In addition to their archaeological analysis, their work constitutes the most recent comprehensive review and interpretation of Omaha ethnohistory. Recent journal articles and ongoing research include Robin Ridington's discussions of Omaha cosmology and cultural renewal (1987, 1988)[NIRC], Karl Reinhard's research in physical anthropology concerning burial practices, the presence of lead in skeletal remains (1992)[NIRC], and the effect of the fur trade on

women's health. Tanis C. Thorne (1993) and John Ludwickson (1995) have explored the leadership of Chief Blackbird during the fur trade era.

Ethnonymy

In their own language, the Omaha people's name for themselves is *umoⁿ'hoⁿ*, meaning "upstream" or "against the current." This name differentiated the Omahas from the Quapaws during their migration into the Mississippi River valley as part of a larger linguistic group known today as the Dhegiha tribes. The Quapaws (*uga'xpa*) followed the Mississippi River downstream while the remaining Dhegiha bands continued upstream (Fontenelle 1885:77; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:36, 72). Europeans first became aware of the name *umoⁿ'hoⁿ* in 1541, when Spanish explorer De Soto encountered the Quapaws in the Arkansas and Missouri region. Europeans often misunderstood the name or purposely shortened it, and "Maha" or "Mahar" appear on early maps, written records, and peace treaties. By 1830, the United States government was referring to the tribe as the Omahas (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:36; Green 1969:1).

Cultural and Linguistic Affiliations

The Omahas are closely related linguistically and culturally to the Quapaw, Osage, Kansa and Ponca tribes, collectively referred to as the Dhegiha tribes of the Siouan linguistic family. A second group of Siouan-speakers, the Chiwere, includes the Iowa, Oto, and Missouri tribes, who are associated historically and geographically with the Dhegiha. The cultures and languages of the two groups, however, remained separate (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:35). There is almost no archeological record for the Omahas prior to their arrival in Nebraska in the mid-eighteenth century (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:16). Oral traditions refer to an Eastern Woodlands tradition, including the use of bark houses and canoes, and a ceremonial life centered around maize. The Omahas were possibly associated with Middle Mississippian towns that are known to have existed in the Ohio River valley, but this relationship has not been demonstrated (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:16). When the Omahas settled along the Missouri River, they adopted the Plains culture of the neighboring Pawnee and Arikara tribes, including the buffalo hunt, and the use of earthlodges, tipis, and horses (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:75, 80).

Origin and Migration Traditions

The origin and migrations of the Omahas are shrouded in traditional oral myths and legends, with little documentary evidence appearing until the late seventeenth century. The Dhegiha tribes are believed to have lived for many generations in the lower Great Lakes region before starting their gradual

93 migration through the Ohio River valley (Fontenelle 1885:77;
94 Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:80). As they migrated westward, the
95 Dhegiha splintered into smaller groups, starting with the
96 separation of the Quapaws at the mouth of the Ohio River and
97 followed by the Osages and Kansas at the confluence of the Osage
98 and Missouri rivers (Dorsey 1884:212). The Omahas and Poncas,
99 along with the Iowa, Oto, and Missouri tribes moved north through
100 the Des Moines River valley, reaching the Pipestone Quarry region
101 of southwestern Minnesota, where they appeared on European maps
102 by about 1700. The Omahas occupied perhaps two villages along
103 the Big Sioux River (Fontenelle 1885:77; Fletcher and La Flesche
104 1911:80, 81).

105 Fletcher and La Flesche believed that while living in this
106 area, the Omahas reorganized themselves into their modern tribal
107 circle, and cut the Sacred Pole, although Fontenelle and Dorsey
108 reported that this occurred later (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:
109 73). Omaha villages along the Big Sioux came under repeated
110 attack from Dakota Sioux bands. At one site near Sioux Falls,
111 now called Blood Run, as many as a thousand Omahas may have been
112 killed. Following this loss, the tribe buried their dead beneath
113 a large mound surrounded by a stone wall and deserted the village
114 (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:73; Smith 1974:160; O'Shea and
115 Ludwicksen 1992a:17).

116 After abandoning the Blood Run site, the Omahas and Poncas
117 moved into the Missouri River country of South Dakota. Dorsey
118 (1884:212, 213) placed them at the mouth of Chouteau Creek near
119 Lake Andes, where he reported that they found the Sacred Pole.
120 Following the Missouri northward, the tribe settled near the
121 mouth of the White River. During this time, the Poncas traveled
122 as far west as the Black Hills, but eventually returned to the
123 White River settlement. Poor harvests and subsequent hunger
124 drove the tribes down the Missouri River into Nebraska around the
125 year 1720 (Dorsey 1884:213; Fontenelle 1885:78).

126 The Ponca band remained near the Niobrara River while the
127 Omahas built a village near the mouth of the James River on Bow
128 Creek in Cedar county (Fontenelle 1885:78; Fletcher and La
129 Flesche 1911:85). This first known Omaha occupation of Nebraska
130 became known as "Bad Village" (*To^a'wo^apezhi*) because quarrels
131 divided the tribe, causing them to desert the village (Fletcher
132 and La Flesche 1911:85). They were later reunited at the mouth
133 of the Big Sioux, near present day Dakota City, at a village
134 called *Tti'ttaga zi'ga*, translation unclear (O'Shea and
135 Ludwicksen 1992a:21). Shortly after the Omahas moved into the
136 Dakota City-Homer area, the Iowas permanently left the area
137 (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:86). By 1758, the Omahas
138 reportedly lived in forty densely populated villages, although
139 some of these villages may have belonged to other tribes
140 (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:21). Their population was
141 estimated as high as 3,000, and they were directly involved in

European trade (Smith 1974; O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:277, 278). The Omahas were clearly growing into a position of power along the Missouri River.

In the early 1770s, the Omahas established themselves near the mouth of Omaha Creek at the Missouri River, one half mile north of present day Homer in Dakota County. The "Big Village" (Toⁿwoⁿtoⁿgathoⁿ) location proved to be ideal, not only because of its fertile bottomlands but because it allowed the Omahas to control the growing flow of trade along the river (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:86; Barnes 1984:5). Omaha power reached its peak during the occupation of Big Village, roughly from 1775 to 1845, under the leadership of Chief Blackbird, the Omahas' most powerful and controversial chief (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:82; Thorne 1993). At the height of their power and influence the Omahas were struck by the smallpox epidemic of 1800-1801, during which Chief Blackbird died along with as many as four hundred others (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:30; Ludwickson 1995:141; Thorne 1993).

Big Village was temporarily deserted following the epidemic, the Omahas launching a "mourning war" against other tribes on the plains (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:87; O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:31). After their return, continual attacks by Sioux and Sauk bands, along with a general shift of the bison herds to the west, caused the Omahas to periodically move west, along the Elkhorn River. From 1819 to 1833 they resided near Stanton, and later, from 1841 to 1843, near the mouth of Logan Creek (Fontenelle 1884[1885?]:79; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:85; O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:36). After a two-year return stay at Big Village, Sioux attacks forced the tribe out of the area to the forks of Papillion Creek, about four miles west of Bellevue. The Omahas signed a treaty creating their present reservation in Thurston county, south of the old Big Village site, in 1854 (Fontenelle 79; O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:37).

Early Euroamerican Contacts

The Omahas first appear on European maps generated by the explorations of Louis Joliet and Father Jacques Marquette in 1673-1674, although Joliet and Marquette probably did not have direct contact with them (Smith 1972:43; Barnes 1984:4). Occasional traders may have dealt with the Omahas while they were still living in the Ohio River valley, but any early trading contacts remained sporadic and undocumented (Smith 1974:49).

In 1695, Pierre Charles Le Sueur established a trading post along the Blue Earth and Minnesota rivers. He was aware that both the Iowas and Omahas were living on the Big Sioux, but he left no record of having traded with them (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:80; Smith 1974:49). Despite the lack of documentation, the Omahas apparently became more directly

189 involved with European traders, and by 1702 there were French
190 traders living among them (Barnes 1984:4). In 1739 Paul and
191 Pierre Mallet visited the Omahas at Bad Village (Fontenelle
192 1884:85; O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:21).

193 *Tribal Territory*

194 Once the Omaha tribe reached Nebraska, their villages
195 remained on the right, or west, bank of the Missouri River. They
196 moved through an area reaching from the mouth of the Niobrara
197 River to the mouth of the Platte River, westward along the
198 northern bank of the Platte River to Shell Creek and north to the
199 Missouri River in South Dakota (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:88).
200 Early in this period their hunting grounds extended as far east
201 as the Raccoon and Des Moines rivers in Iowa to near the forks of
202 the Dismal River in the Sand Hills (Fletcher and La Flesche
203 1911:89).

204 By the eighteenth century, the Omahas found themselves under
205 increased pressure from the hostile Sauk and Fox tribes from the
206 east and Teton Dakotas from the north (O'Shea and Ludwickson
207 1992a:31). Continual Sauk and Fox raiding forced the Omahas to
208 abandon hunting expeditions east of the Missouri while the Teton
209 Dakotas confined their activities to south of Omaha Creek. The
210 Pawnee remained a forceful presence to the southwest, especially
211 along the Platte River. The Central Plains region of Nebraska,
212 specifically the Sand Hills, was claimed by the Cheyenne, Dakota,
213 Pawnee, Ponca, and Omaha tribes until finally ceded to the United
214 States in 1857 (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:89).

215 *Subsistence*

216 The Omahas engaged in a combination of horticulture and
217 hunting supplemented by fishing, some trapping, and gathering.
218 Tribal survival depended on the gardens and the annual summer
219 bison hunt, so these two endeavors were conducted communally,
220 controlled by ritual and ceremony to help insure success. Other
221 subsistence activities were undertaken more informally by smaller
222 groups, families, or individuals (Dorsey 1884:302; Fletcher and
223 La Flesche 1911:261). Gardens were planted in spring, the tribe
224 leaving for the summer buffalo hunt once crops were well
225 established, in June or July. They returned for harvesting by
226 September or early October, and from late October to December,
227 hunted and trapped near the river, small parties hunting buffalo
228 for hides (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:269).

229 Gardens were planted along streams, plots ranging in size
230 from one and a half acres to over three acres. Garden plots
231 belonged to any family willing to work them, with both men and
232 women tending the gardens. Crops included corn, beans, squash,
233 melons, and sunflowers. Surplus crops were cached over the
234 winter in pits measuring six to seven feet in diameter, and four

235 to five feet deep (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:269; O'Shea and
236 Ludwickson 1992a:80).

237 The summer bison hunt (te'u^{ne}) provided the people with most
238 of their meat for the year. Virtually the entire tribe
239 participated in the hunt, which covered hundreds of miles and
240 lasted about three months. Every aspect of the hunt was closely
241 governed by ritual, including the use of the tribal circle
242 (hu'thuga) in setting up camps (Dorsey 1884:283-293; Fletcher and
243 La Flesche 1911:275-283). The bison hunt was followed by
244 ceremonies of thanksgiving, including Anointing the Sacred Pole
245 and the He'dewachi ceremony (Dorsey 1884:293-299; Fletcher and
246 La Flesche 1911:230-251).

247 *Demography*

248 The first historical estimates of Omaha population occur
249 after their arrival in the Big Sioux River area, and while
250 accounts are plentiful, they tend to be ambiguous and
251 inconsistent. Among the earliest reports are those of
252 D'Iberville, who reported 1,200 Omaha families in 1702, with a
253 total population of 2,500 in 1750 (Barnes 1984:8; O'Shea and
254 Ludwickson 1992a:271). Mooney's report of 2,800 people in 1780
255 would seem to be in accord with D'Iberville, but in 1796, Truteau
256 counted only 1,100 (Smith 1974:218). O'Shea and Ludwickson
257 (1992a:271) estimate that Omaha population numbered about 2,800
258 in 1750.

259 The smallpox epidemic that swept through the Plains in 1800
260 and 1801 had a profound impact on the Omaha people not only in
261 terms of the number of lives lost directly to disease, but on the
262 influence the tribe had gained in the region. Again, historical
263 accounts of the actual number of lives lost during the epidemic
264 are inconclusive, but O'Shea and Ludwickson (1992a:288) estimate
265 the losses may have been about 500. Included among those deaths
266 was the great Chief Blackbird, whose death created a leadership
267 vacuum that lasted until the ascent of Big Elk about ten years
268 later (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:31; Ludwickson 1995:141). In
269 the wake of the epidemic, the Omahas abandoned Big Village for
270 awhile, perhaps engaging in a "mourning war" against the Ponca,
271 Pawnee, Cheyenne, and Oto tribes (Fletcher and La Flesche
272 1911:86; O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:31).

273 As devastating as the epidemic was, it seemed to produce no
274 major demographic shifts in the population, nor was there a
275 collapse of the social or political structure (Barnes 1984:9;
276 O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:288). The Omahas faced a greater
277 threat in their increased vulnerability to attacks by the Sioux
278 and Sauk tribes. One source lists at least twelve attacks
279 against the Omahas between 1804 and 1848 in which at least 73
280 Omaha lives were lost, plus the loss of prisoners (Smith
281 1974:218; Barnes 1984:7). Following a period of slow growth,

disease and warfare resumed the assault on Omaha population figures from about 1820. With the start of the reservation period in 1855, the population had decreased again to about 800, and by the close of the nineteenth century tended to hover at about 1,100 (Dorsey 1884:214; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:33).

Social Structure

Traditional Omaha social structure was linked more closely to spiritual beliefs than to political or blood ties, this linkage best embodied in the tribal circle, or *hu'thuga* (Dorsey 1884:219; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:134, 135). The basic kinship groups were ten clans, each clan serving as the keepers of specific ceremonial rites and taboos, often connected to a certain animal (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:136; Barnes 1984:68). Membership in the exogamous clans was determined patrilineally, as was leadership within the clans (Dorsey 1884:225; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:38). The ten clans were divided equally between two exogamous moieties. The five clans of the *Hoⁿ'gashenu* (Earth People) were responsible for rites concerning the physical welfare of the people. The *Inshta'cunda* (Sky People) maintained control over spiritual concerns (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:135; Barnes 1984:50).

Social and secret societies served to unify the tribe further, cutting across clan and moiety lines. Membership in the social societies was open to anyone able to meet eligibility requirements, and included warrior societies, the largest being the *Hethu'shka*, as well as more informal groups. The secret societies dealt with healing and mysticism, with membership gained usually by virtue of dreams or visions. Among the most important of the secret societies were the *Hoⁿ'hewachi* and *Washis'ka athi* (Shell Society). Many of the secret societies were lost by the twentieth century (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:459, 493, 509).

Political Organization

The most complete account of Omaha political organization appears in *The Omaha Tribe* (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:199-216). Concerns over tribal disintegration appear throughout the early ethnographies and tribal history. Sometime after their arrival in the Iowa/Minnesota area, Omaha political organization underwent a change, forming a more centralized governing body. According to tribal legend, seven old men visiting the tribe "inaugurated" the Council of Seven. This council of seven chiefs was presided over by two principal chiefs representing both moieties. Around this same period the Sacred Pole was cut, a venerated symbol of tribal unity.

Controversy remains over whether the positions of chief were inherited or gained through honor and gift-giving (Barnes

1984:29). The most recent research supports the idea that chieftainship was inherited, with some rather important exceptions (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992b). There existed two classes of chiefs, both emphasizing the importance of gift-giving. The first class was open to any man, but entrance was determined by the consent of the members of the second, more elite class. Membership into the second group could be gained only by completing seven grades of "acts of honor" and substantial gift-giving, often taking many years to attain (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:202, 203).

Settlements

Semi-permanent earthlodge villages served as the center of Omaha life, even though they were inhabited only about six months out of the year (Dorsey 1884:269). Ideally, villages were located near fertile river bottoms, close to streams and timber, with hills nearby (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:95).

Unlike the encampments made during summer bison hunts, there were no specific plans for village organization. The Omahas adopted the earthlodge structure from the Arikaras and Pawnees, after moving to the Missouri River, without the cosmic symbolism that these tribes associated with the structure (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:75, 76). Wigwams and tipis may have been intermixed with earthlodges, along with corrals for horses. Tipis were often used during the winter because they could be built in sheltered areas, away from the wind (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:79). There were apparently no special structures for communal gatherings. Council meetings took place in one of the larger earthlodges, or two to three tents could be put together to make one large tent (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992a:81).

Religion

When Fletcher and La Flesche did their ethnographic work among the Omahas in the 1880s, many Omaha religious beliefs and ceremonies had already disappeared or were in decline. Traditionally, the Omahas believed in a "common life-power" (*Wako^a'da*) that existed in all living and inanimate things, and which controlled all phases of life (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:115, 597). *Wako^a'da* controlled the forces of the universe, and enforced ethical behavior through natural phenomenon (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:598).

Humans were created from a union of the ancient Earth and Sky People, reflected in the dual moieties. Although humans were not believed to be descended from animal ancestors, they shared a close relationship with animals. Humans were viewed as just one manifestation of life, dependent on, rather than masters of, life on earth. All humans and animals were endowed with special gifts, and if a man prayed to *Wako^a'da* for help, the animal with

the necessary and appropriate power would be sent (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:600).

Life Cycle

The stages of life--infancy, youth, manhood and old age--were viewed as four hills over which one must be prepared to make a long, rugged journey. Eight days after birth, babies were ceremonially "introduced" to the universe to ensure acceptance, and the powers of the universe were asked to guide the child safely through its journey. When children were old enough to walk on their own, they went through a ceremony called "turning the child," which asked for strength from the four winds. The child became a true member of its clan, its baby name being replaced with a clan name. Boys went through a second ceremony at this time, consecrating their lives to Thunder, which controlled warfare and the destiny of warriors (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:117, 122).

Upon reaching puberty, boys undertook four days of fasting and prayer in an effort to experience a personal relationship with *Wako^{na}da*. During this time, if a boy saw or heard something animate or inanimate, that object became a source of supernatural aid to him. This ceremony could be repeated over again until a boy was old enough to marry, at which time his life was considered "fixed" (Dorsey 1884:266; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:131).

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2 CHAPTER 9

3 LAKOTAS (OGLALAS AND BRULES)

4 By Gloria Rial and Judith Campbell Miller

5 *Introduction*

6 The Oglalas and Brulés are two of the seven bands of the
7 western division of the Dakota or Sioux Nation, also known as the
8 Lakota or Teton Sioux. The other five bands of the Lakotas are
9 the Hunkpapas, Miniconjous, Sihasapas or Blackfoot, Two Kettles,
10 and Sans Arcs. The Lakotas were one of the legendary Seven
11 Council Fires of the Sioux in their Minnesota homeland, the other
12 Council Fires including the Wahpeton, Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, and
13 Sisseton tribes (the eastern division of the Sioux, collectively
14 known as the Santees), and the Yanktons and Yanktonais (the
15 "middle" division). The Lakotas were the most numerous of the
16 Sioux divisions, and the Brulés and Oglalas were the largest
17 bands of the Lakotas (Grobsmith 1981; Lazarus 1991; Bray 1994).
18 *Oglala* is translated as "they scatter their own" and *Brulé* as
19 "burnt thigh" (Howard 1980:20; W. Powers 1975:26).

20 In the public imagination, Lakotas epitomize the image of
21 the horse-born, buffalo-hunting, nomadic Plains Indian. They
22 have long captured the romantic and scholarly interests of
23 Americans and Europeans alike, and have thus been the subject of
24 a great deal of historical and anthropological research,
25 particularly in recent years. Of the Seven Council Fires of the
26 original Dakota people in Minnesota, the Lakotas penetrated the
27 farthest west in their travels, ranging far and wide through the
28 Plains during their nomadic existence. Though relative
29 latecomers to the Plains, the Lakotas venerated, and continue to
30 revere, the Black Hills as a place of special significance. The
31 Black Hills in South Dakota were called *Paha Sapa* in the Sioux
32 language, so named, according to a Lakota chief, because the
33 abundance of dark pine gave the appearance of dark or black hills
34 from a distance (Lazarus 1991:8). Today, most of the Oglalas are
35 found on the Pine Ridge Reservation in southwestern South Dakota,
36 though some live on the Rosebud Reservation. The Brulés live on
37 the Rosebud and Lower Brule reservations.

38 Brief synoptic descriptions of *Oglala* and *Brulé* history and
39 social organization can be found in *Handbook of American Indians*
40 *North of Mexico*, by Frederick Webb Hodge (1907-10, 1:166-168;
41 2:109-111)), and similarly brief information on the Dakotas in
42 general can be found in *The Indian Tribes of North America*, by
43 John R. Swanton (1952:280-284).

44 A number of other important studies deserve brief mention.
45 An important series of articles on the Dakotas in general
46 appeared in the University of South Dakota publication, *Museum*
47 *News*, in 1966. Authored by ethnologist James H. Howard, these
48 were recently consolidated and reprinted (Howard 1980), and
49 continue to be a good introductory source of information on all
50 three divisions of the Dakota Nation--Eastern, Middle, and
51 Western or Lakota. Royal B. Hassrick (1988) presents a readable,
52 popular ethnography of the Dakotas in general which emphasizes a
53 sociological perspective. One of the earliest twentieth-century
54 historical studies of the Lakotas is that by the South Dakota
55 historian, Doane Robinson (1974, originally published in 1904).
56 White (1978) has offered an important recent interpretation of
57 the history of the Sioux and their expansion onto the Plains.
58 Historian George E. Hyde's classic histories of Red Cloud and the
59 Oglalas (1937), as well as of Spotted Tail and the Brulés (1961),
60 chronicle the experiences of these eminent Lakota leaders and
61 their followers to the last decade of the nineteenth century. In
62 another work, Hyde (1956) relates the treatment of the Dakotas on
63 reservation lands during the last quarter of the nineteenth
64 century. Edward Lazarus (1991) surveys the history of the Sioux
65 Nation from 1775 to the present, focusing on their claim to the
66 Black Hills. Elizabeth S. Grobsmith's (1981) short contemporary
67 ethnography on the Rosebud Reservation Lakotas is outstanding for
68 its clarity and succinct organization. The geologist Joseph N.
69 Nicollet, who traveled through southwestern Minnesota and eastern
70 South Dakota in the 1830s, prepared a very important set of notes
71 on the Dakota people based in part on his own observations and
72 queries (DeMallie in Bray and Bray 1976). James R. Walker (1982)
73 presents an ethnohistorical description, edited by Raymond J.
74 DeMallie, of traditional Lakota lifeways based on his 1896-1914
75 interviews with residents of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Lakota
76 religious beliefs and rituals are comprehensively described by
77 William K. Powers (1975). Hoover (1979) has compiled a useful
78 critical bibliography of studies pertaining to the Sioux.

79 While the term "Seven Council Fires" originally referred to
80 autonomous villages that subsequently became seven subdivisions
81 of the Sioux, the Sioux Nation's strong unity was characterized
82 by interdependence economically, socially, and politically. The
83 Lakotas were a nomadic people. Bands intermingled frequently,
84 gathering for annual ceremonies and communal hunts, cooperative
85 warfare, intertribal visits throughout the year, and for sharing
86 information as well as marriage partners.

87 The language of the Sioux, though comprised of three
88 distinct dialects, was mutually understood, promoting
89 communication between subdivisions of the tribe. The western
90 division of the Dakotas, who spoke the Lakota dialect (Grobsmith
91 1981), dominated vast areas of the Plains during their brief
92 reign, not only because of their possession of guns and horses,
93 but also because of the stable alliance among their assorted

bands as they ranged over large tracts of land, asserting their territorial claims over previous occupants.

Demography

Because of their wide dispersal and history of frequent hostilities with the United States, it is difficult to accurately estimate the population of the Lakotas as a whole, much less any of the seven tribes that comprised the Lakotas. Bray (1994) has presented an insightful analysis and interpretation of changes in Lakota population between 1805 and 1881, in which he concludes that their population in general increased during the nineteenth century, in contrast to the shrinking populations of most other Plains tribes.

An important factor in considering nineteenth-century population estimates for any of the Lakota bands is the effect that repeated exposure to introduced diseases had on the Plains tribes in general. Using native calendars called winter counts, which were depictions made on leather or cloth to signify the most important event that occurred in a given year, Crosby (1992:19) has documented at least nine major episodes of epidemic diseases such as smallpox, whooping cough, measles, and cholera among Plains tribes between 1780 and 1851. He (Crosby 1992:15-16) estimates that smallpox among the Plains tribes took a toll of "Perhaps half the population between the Missouri River and New Mexico." Especially virulent were the 1780-1781, 1801-1802, and 1837 epidemics. Bray (1994) argues that the Lakotas, like the Sioux in general, faced the effects of epidemic disease in their Minnesota homeland earlier than the Plains tribes and recovered to the point of experiencing an increasing population during their spread into the Plains, where they were militarily successful against the other Plains tribes who were still undergoing depopulation as a result of epidemic diseases. The high mobility patterns of the Lakotas throughout their annual cycle and the vast territory utilized by them, also aided their survival and escape of numerous epidemics which so devastated the village tribes of the Missouri River (Lazarus 1991).

Bray (1994:174-175) has charted the population growth of the individual Lakota bands between 1805 and 1881. From an 1805 population of about 2,400, the Brulés increased to approximately 5,700 by 1881, while during the same period the Oglalas increased from about 1,000 to approximately 4,800 persons. The rates of population growth experienced by these two bands during this 76-year span markedly exceeded the overall 90 percent growth rate of the Lakota population in general--137 percent for the Brulés and 385 percent for the Oglalas (Bray 1994:176, 180-181).

In 1980 the population of the Rosebud Reservation (home of many of the Brulés) was listed at 5,688 (U.S. Department of Commerce 1989:661), and in 1990 at 12,783 (U.S. Department of the

141 Interior 1991). Grobsmith (1981:18) gave the population for the
142 Rosebud as exceeding 8,000, with the total Rosebud Sioux tribal
143 members (including those off-reservation) as 22,000.

144 History

145 Jesuit missionary accounts place the Sioux in the Lake
146 Superior region as early as 1640, where they are described as
147 being settled about the head of the Mississippi River in central
148 Minnesota, and were reportedly hunting small woodland game,
149 fishing, and gathering wild rice (Lazarus 1991; Mails 1979; Horr
150 1974). Their total population at the time of first contact with
151 the French, or about 1660, is estimated at approximately 28,000
152 individuals (Bray 1994:169).

153 The Lakotas were the first of the Dakota groups to leave
154 central Minnesota, migrating as they followed the bison onto the
155 Plains around 1750 (Grobsmith 1981). The Oglalas are said to
156 have been the first band of the Lakotas to migrate west of
157 Minnesota (Robinson 1974; Lazarus 1991). Perhaps as equally
158 motivating as the lure of the buffalo, was their conflict with
159 the Chippewas who were located to the north and east. The
160 Chippewas, who experienced early, close contacts with
161 Euroamerican traders, had access to guns before the Sioux. Their
162 firepower was more than a match for Sioux arrows and lances
163 (Lazarus 1991; Robinson 1974). As the Lakotas migrated to the
164 Plains they adapted the lifestyle of nomadic bison hunters
165 (Grobsmith 1981). The Lakotas initially used dogs as pack
166 animals but quickly adapted to small, agile horses descended from
167 Mexican stock (Lazarus 1991). This equestrian adaptation would
168 prove to be indispensable in the Lakotas' short, but unquestioned
169 dominance on the Plains.

170 By 1776, the Dakotas claimed virtually all of South Dakota,
171 the western portion of Minnesota, large parcels of southern North
172 Dakota, and parts of Wisconsin and Iowa. In Nebraska, they
173 ranged:

174 ...up the Missouri River to the Niobrara and west
175 from there along the Niobrara and the Platte to the Black
176 Hills...and by prowess ma[de] the claim good. (Robinson
177 1974:27)

178 A Lakota camp was documented at the mouth of the White River
179 (South Dakota) in 1794-1795 by French trader Jean Baptiste
180 Truteau, from whence they hunted bison and beaver near and on
181 both banks of the Missouri, pushing the Arikaras north to the
182 Knife River in present-day central North Dakota (Horr 1974).

183 By the late 1700s, the westering Lakotas had crossed South
184 Dakota to the Black Hills, and had spread into North Dakota and
185 into northern Nebraska. They followed the bison (and raided) as

186 far north as Canada and as far south as Texas. The Lakotas
187 displaced, or militarily harassed, many of the other Plains
188 tribal groups, both nomadic hunters and sedentary village-
189 dwellers, by 1800 (Grobsmith 1981; Schusky 1975; Lazarus 1991;
190 Mails 1979.) Later, in 1804-1806, Lewis and Clark encountered
191 the Brulés on either side of the Missouri, White, and Bad rivers,
192 hunting bison (Howard 1972:287; Horr 1974).

193 Lazarus (1991:3-7) contends that Standing Bull, a leader
194 among the Lakotas in the last quarter of the eighteenth century,
195 "discovered" the Black Hills. His successors ousted the Kiowas
196 from the Black Hills region by 1814 and within a few years had
197 overpowered and evicted the Crows around the Powder River area in
198 eastern Wyoming and part of Montana. The Black Hills offered the
199 Lakotas ample water, forage for horses and buffalo, and shelter
200 from winter storms.

201 During the 1830s the Oglalas extended their territory into
202 southern Wyoming (Mails 1979), and diminished forage in South
203 Dakota encouraged the Brulés to move further south and west to
204 the North and South Platte rivers in Nebraska (Hyde 1961:24).
205 After 1834, fur trading posts built along the North Platte River
206 at a location later known as Fort Laramie, lured the Lakota trade
207 from the American Fur Company's Ft. Pierre in central South
208 Dakota (Hyde 1961:29-30). The southern movement of the Brulés
209 and Oglalas escalated their conflicts with the Pawnees. Within a
210 decade the Oglalas and Brulés (allied with the Cheyennes and
211 Arapahos) drove the Pawnees from their villages on the Loup River
212 (Hyde 1961:48).

213 During their extensive movements, both the Brulés and
214 Oglalas, as well as other Lakota bands, continued to maintain
215 their ties with the Yanktons and Santee bands in the East. They
216 frequently crossed the Missouri to visit and trade (Hyde
217 1961:19).

218 In 1851 the Ft. Laramie Treaty boundaries were established
219 in order to assure safe passage for emigrants along the Oregon
220 Trail. The treaty acknowledged Sioux authority over lands from
221 the Missouri River to west of the Black Hills, and from the
222 Platte River in Nebraska to the Heart River in North Dakota.
223 They ceded lands to the Crows (Powder River country) and Kiowas
224 (hunting grounds south of the Platte River) (Lazarus, 1991).

225 Commencing at the mouth of the White Earth river, on the
226 Missouri river; thence in a southwesterly direction to the
227 forks of the Platte river; thence up the N. Fork of the
228 Platte River to a point known as the Red Butte, or where the
229 road leaves the river; thence along the range of mountains
230 known as the Black hills to the head waters of Heart river;
231 thence down Heart river to its mouth; and thence down the
232 Missouri river to the place of beginning...The tract herein

233 described included only a portion of what was subsequently
234 recognized as Sioux Territory. (Royce 1899:786-787)

235 However, the U.S. Senate reduced the treaty's promise of
236 annuities from 50 years to 10 years without informing the Sioux.
237 The Sioux, unaccustomed to annuities, particularly in the form of
238 farming implements and seeds which they threw away, continued to
239 hunt and raid in their ceded hunting ranges (Lazarus 1991).

240 Open conflict between the U.S. Government and the Lakotas
241 erupted in 1854 at a Brulé camp near the North Platte River in
242 Wyoming, resulting in the "Grattan Massacre," the slaughter of
243 about 30 U.S. soldiers who sought to arrest Brulés accused of
244 stealing a cow from a Mormon immigrant. In retaliation, a
245 punitive U.S. Army expedition attacked the camp of some Brulés
246 (who did not participate in the Grattan affair) at Ash Hollow in
247 western Nebraska and killed more than 80 of the Indians, setting
248 a pattern for hostility between the army and many of the Lakotas
249 that would persist intermittently for more than 30 years (Ambrose
250 1975; Lazarus 1991:23).

251 Lt. G. K. Warren of the U.S. Topographical Engineers Corps
252 was assigned to report on the region between the Platte and
253 Missouri Rivers. In 1856, Warren observed that the Lakotas:

254 ...are supposed to constitute more than one-half of the
255 whole Dakota nation. They live on the western side of the
256 Missouri. (Horr 1974:173)

257 The following year, the U.S. Government prepared to purchase
258 land from the Yanktons, north, east and west of the Missouri.
259 Before it was final, however, the sale was challenged by Bear's
260 Rib, a spokesman for the Lakotas, who declared that the land was
261 only lent to the homeless Yanktons by the Lakotas and Yanktonais.
262 Nevertheless, the purchase was completed in 1858, resulting in
263 the 15 million-acre Dakota Territory (Lazarus 1991:25).

264 Gold discoveries in the West, first in Colorado in 1859 and
265 in Montana in 1861, drew hordes of wealth-seekers and led to
266 further incursions on Indian land. The Montana discovery
267 resulted in establishment of the Bozeman trail through the
268 northern bison range of the wandering Lakota hunters to Helena,
269 Montana. Tired of broken treaties, emigrants traveling through
270 their lands, and settlers living on their lands, many of the
271 Dakota people resisted with force and the "Sioux Wars" commenced.

272 In 1862 the rebellious Santees in Minnesota were subdued
273 with military force and 38 were hanged. Many of the surviving
274 Santees who escaped imprisonment sought refuge to the west, where
275 the Lakotas joined them in warfare against Government troops in
276 1863 and 1864 (Lazarus 1991:28).

277 In 1865, Congress appropriated money for two roads to be
278 built from the Platte River in Nebraska to the Montana gold
279 fields and appropriated \$20,000 to appease the Sioux with
280 annuities. While Governor Newton Edmunds of the newly-
281 established Dakota Territory claimed the majority of Sioux were
282 in agreement with the treaty, none of the 20,000 Oglalas and
283 Brulés camped in the Black Hills and Powder River country were
284 represented at the signing. The Oglala chief, Red Cloud, and the
285 Brulé chief, Spotted Tail, came to Ft. Laramie to discuss the
286 Bozeman trail. Having spent a year in prison following the
287 Grattan "massacre," and having observed first-hand the resources
288 and numbers of the whites, Spotted Tail realized that survival
289 depended on peace. Red Cloud, angry at the increased traffic in
290 the lands of the Lakotas in what is now Montana and Wyoming,
291 insisted that no forts exist along the Bozeman Trail. However,
292 as new forts were built and old ones reinforced, Red Cloud and
293 Oglala warrior Crazy Horse attacked with their braves. The
294 guerilla tactics of the Oglalas and Brulés succeeded in
295 convincing the Government that maintaining the Bozeman Trail was
296 not fiscally sound. The issue resulted in another treaty at Fort
297 Laramie in 1868 wherein the Indians agreed to stop the raiding if
298 the U.S. Army withdrew its troops from the area. The 1851 Fort
299 Laramie Treaty stipulated Sioux cessions of land north of the
300 North Platte River and east of the Big Horn Mountains,
301 encompassing the western portion of the Niobrara River, and
302 established the Great Sioux Reservation, which comprised
303 virtually all of present-day western South Dakota (Royce 1899).

304 Both sides soon breached the 1868 agreement. The Sioux
305 practice of raiding and nomadic hunting continued, while the
306 Government permitted and protected trespassing whites. The
307 Northern Pacific Railroad surveyed for a rail line to Montana
308 from the east (Olson 1965).

309 Gold seekers continued to penetrate Indian lands. Following
310 gold discoveries in the Black Hills and Lieutenant Colonel George
311 Armstrong Custer's 1874 expedition there, the Government sought
312 to gain control of the Black Hills in 1876 by sending an
313 ultimatum to the bands within the Great Sioux Reservation to come
314 in to an agency or be considered hostile. Red Cloud's Oglalas
315 and Spotted Tail's Brulés failed to report. In March of 1876,
316 soldiers from Ft. Fetterman, Wyoming, attacked the Lakotas and
317 Cheyennes at the Powder River in Montana and were repelled by
318 warriors led by Crazy Horse. The conflict culminated with the
319 battle of the Little Bighorn, resulting in the last victory for
320 the Sioux and their allies. Sioux territory, as set out in the
321 Act of February 28, 1877, was confined to the mid-section of
322 South Dakota, ceding the Black Hills on the west and roughly
323 using the Missouri as the eastern boundary. A small area in
324 southern North Dakota comprised the northern perimeter with the
325 South Dakota/Nebraska border, along with the eastern Niobrara, as
326 the southern boundary.

327 The Dawes(?) Act of 1889 further reduced Sioux land
328 holdings, which were diminished to five small reservations in
329 North and South Dakota: Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Crow
330 Creek, Pine Ridge, and Rosebud. The Dawes Act, probably more
331 than any other legislation or treaty of the U.S. Government, did
332 more to end historic tribal lifeways by dispersing Indian
333 populations to individually allotted land on reservations, where
334 tribal members presumably could more quickly adopt American
335 agricultural practices and assimilate into the mainstream of
336 American culture.

337 Surplus land left over after the allotment of reservations
338 was opened for sale to non-Indians. When American Indians were
339 paid for their land it was usually not fair market price at the
340 time of cession and in many cases there was no payment at all
341 (Wishart 1990). However, in an April 5, 1954, decision, the
342 Indian Claims Commission found that the Lakotas were justly
343 compensated for their land:

344 In the circumstances and under the conditions existing
345 as of date February 28, 1877, the said Act of Congress of
346 that date provided adequate compensation for the lands and
347 rights acquired by said Act from the plaintiff Indians, and
348 said Indians were treated fairly and honorably by said Act.
349 (Horr 1974:35)

350 In any event, the division of the various tribes and bands
351 of the Dakotas onto separate agency lands helped to further
352 alienate and dilute their once powerful alliance, an important
353 goal of the Government during the western expansion of the United
354 States (Milligan 1976; Hyde 1956; Olson 1965; Lazarus 1991).

355 *Culture and Lifeway*

356 The introduction of the horse caused a profound change in
357 the lives of the Lakotas. Hunting and raiding were two
358 activities that were particularly facilitated by horses (Osborn
359 1983:584). Hunting was much easier on horseback than on foot.
360 Camps were also more easily transportable by horse rather than by
361 using dogs as pack animals. Greater distances were covered in
362 much less time, and this greater mobility not only affected
363 hunting, but also the ability to raid new neighbors and dominate
364 larger territories (Grobsmith 1981).

365 The Lakotas moved about freely, hunting bison, raiding
366 (mostly for horses), and trading with Euroamericans for
367 manufactured products. Warfare and hunting were the integral
368 components of daily life. Camps easily transported by horses and
369 dogs facilitated this lifestyle (Hyde 1956, 1961; Murdock 1969).
370 Camps were made up of tipis that were constructed from skins
371 (usually buffalo hides) supported by poles from local timber.
372 Tipis were circular at ground level, rising in conical shape to

373 an opening at the top (Murdock 1969).

374 The Lakotas effectively utilized a wide range of available
375 natural resources: hides were used for shelter, clothing,
376 cooking (dropping hot stones into hide pouches of water), and
377 trading; dogs, horses, and people for pack animals; feathers and
378 porcupine quills and cones with coloring provided from natural
379 dyes for decoration (Hassrick 1975:171). According to Murdock
380 (1969), less than 15 percent of the Lakotas' subsistence was
381 dependent on gathering and small game. More than 85 percent was
382 derived from hunting large game. Buffalo provided food, fuel
383 (dung), needles and shields (bone), tallow, glue (hoofs),
384 materials for homes, blankets and robes, and trade (hides) for
385 industrially manufactured products such as guns and pots (Lazarus
386 1991). Agriculture was nonexistent until very late in the
387 historic period (Murdock 1969). Gathering products commonly
388 consisted of berries or choke cherries, as well as prairie
389 turnips (Grobsmith 1990; Nurge 1970). The berries were mixed
390 with fat and bison meat to form pemmican (*wasna*). This mixture
391 could be stored for long periods and eaten as is or boiled in
392 water to form a soup or stew.

393 After contact, dependence on Euroamerican goods grew as
394 trading with fur companies became firmly established in Lakota
395 life. Stone knives, arrow points, and axes were replaced by
396 metal equivalents. Guns facilitated and transformed hunting and
397 warfare. The skills to produce tools from stone became largely
398 disused. The demand for buffalo products by Euroamericans from
399 the east and abroad helped to insure the demise of the herds.
400 Changes induced by the fur trade were a significant factor in the
401 ultimate collapse of the native Plains nomadic culture.

402 Because bison were the Oglalas' and Brulés' primary
403 resource, the sizes and locations of aboriginal settlements were,
404 in large part, based on the bison's patterns of mobility. A
405 substantial degree of variability and mobility was necessary for
406 groups dependent on bison for sustenance.

407 Prior to acquisition of the horse, the Dakotas traveled on
408 foot. Their goods were transported on their own backs or by dog-
409 drawn travois (Grobsmith 1990). After emigrating across the
410 Missouri and acquiring the horse and gun, the Lakotas moved
411 rapidly throughout the Plains exploiting the bison and other
412 Plains tribes. The demand for hides and tongues to use in trade,
413 along with the need for winter forage for horse herds, dictated
414 increasingly larger territories (Grobsmith 1981:9; Hyde 1961:24),
415 resulting in constant conflicts during the early nineteenth
416 century with other groups already occupying these ranges (Hyde
417 1961:48-52).

418 A formerly egalitarian people, the Lakotas began to develop
419 differences in wealth and status after acquiring the horse. The

horse became not only the means of acquiring wealth but also the measure of individual wealth, necessary for marriage exchanges and gaining entrance to societies (Grobsmith 1981:9).

Groups were socially and economically organized into small camps or bands, consisting of bilaterally related kin (Murdock 1969). The *tiyospaye*, glossed generally as "camp" (Howard 1980:22), was the Lakota word used to describe this basic organizational unit composed of bilateral and bilocal kin. Each *tiyospaye* recognized one or more headmen, whose limited authority stemmed from demonstrated leadership in hunting, political, and military matters (Grobsmith 1981; Walker 1982). Several *tiyospaye* combined to form a band, such as the Oglalas or the Brulés (Howard 1980:22).

The Lakotas' custom of bride-price was usually paid by the groom to the bride's family in the form of horses, their most valuable commodity for exchange. The practice of exogamy was prevalent. There were both monogamous small extended families as well as sororal polygyny with co-wives occupying the same hearth. Marital residence was usually virilocal, but uxorilocal residence was not uncommon among the Lakotas. Strictly patrilineal or matrilineal kin groups appear to have been absent by 1870. Bilateral descent was practiced, with emphasis on more renowned ancestors. Bilateral kinship allowed for greater flexibility in band membership.

Warrior, or *akicita* societies, with members from multiple bands, were another level of social organization which crosscut kin relationships, and from which an individual could seek assistance. Warrior societies served important roles in organizing and policing annual bison hunts, Sun Dances, and other events that required discipline during the aggregation of bands (Hassrick 1988).

Recognition of leadership was based on courage and success in warfare, the number of horses one owned, one's skill in hunting, or success as a shaman. Religious leaders, hunting leaders, elders, and *tiyospaye* headmen all led by group consensus. Slavery was limited to captives from other tribes and there was no hereditary rank, although Bray (1994:180, 185-186, 188 n49) cites some evidence for weak hereditary chieftainships among the Brulés prior to 1865. In accordance with non-hereditary roles, private land ownership was unknown (Murdock 1969).

Division of labor was based on gender. Males hunted and assisted in butchering; women were responsible for processing hides and meat, transportation, manufacture of clothing, and construction of living quarters (Murdock 1969). Denig (1930) and Hornaday (Niethammer 1977) estimate that a skilled woman could process 20-30 bison hides per season. As Klein (1983) pointed

467 out in his discussion of Plains tribes, increased Euroamerican
468 demand for tanned hides created a disproportionately increased
469 demand for female labor compared to the male. A single mounted
470 male was able to provide enough bison resources to employ the
471 processing labor of more than two females (Niethammer 1977).
472 Women were also responsible for making quill and bead work and
473 ceremonial clothing (Hamilton 1971).

474 Warfare was usually the domain of men, requiring a constant
475 state of readiness to defend the group against raiders. Large
476 amounts of time were devoted to securing horses. Men were
477 responsible for procuring horses, by raiding neighboring tribes
478 or seaching for wild horses, and training them. Usually raids
479 were small-scale, allowing for "counting coup," where a charging
480 warrior would touch an adversary with a weapon (Lazarus 1991).

481 The seasons dictated life on the Plains for the Lakotas.
482 Winter would find small, dispersed camps in low-lying creek
483 bottoms near cottonwood trees. Trees provided food for the
484 horses while the camps, near water, were protected from the harsh
485 winds. As growth of prairie grasses fattened the bison during
486 late spring into summer, Lakota bands would come together for
487 hunting, religious ceremonies, and feasting (Lazarus 1991).
488 Annual fall gatherings were occasions for the bands to aggregate
489 for formal ceremonial rituals and communal buffalo hunts. These
490 large gatherings afforded opportunity for social mingling
491 (gossip, feasting, and looking for prospective spouses) and games
492 of chance. Most games consisted of the display of male athletic
493 skills (Murdock 1969).

494 Children were highly valued in Lakota society. The nomadic
495 nature of their lives made child spacing a necessity.
496 Religiously prescribed sexual avoidance between fathers and
497 mothers during the lactation period made such spacing possible
498 (Medicine 1987:169). Rituals marked puberty in young women and
499 men. The girl's puberty ceremony, *isna ta awi cha lowan*,
500 identified her with the buffalo, marking the young woman's
501 separation from the asexual world and linking her to the mythic
502 White Buffalo Calf Woman (M. Powers 1986:70). *Hanblecheyapi*, or
503 crying for a vision, served a similar role for the young men,
504 though not strictly a puberty rite.

505 A woman who had completed the puberty ritual was considered
506 marriageable. It was her family's responsibility to find her a
507 suitable husband. An ideal husband would be one who had proven
508 himself able to provide for a family, as well as one who could
509 offer parents a social bond with another band.

510 Marriages were easily dissolved and divorce could be
511 initiated by either husband or wife. A wife, who owned the
512 dwelling, need only place her husband's weapons and other
513 personal items outside the tipi door. While the husband might

514 send an intermediary to attempt a reconciliation, he was expected
515 to accept her decision calmly and with dignity. He would either
516 take his things back to his family's home or, if he was from
517 another *tiyospaye*, he might move into the lodge of his warrior
518 society (Lame Deer and Erdoes 1972).

519 Death and burial preparation was the province of women.
520 Older women prepared the deceased for burial and placed the body
521 on the burial scaffold, along with the deceased's most valuable
522 possessions. The corpse was dressed in its best and specially
523 made moccasins with beaded soles, were placed on it (M. Powers
524 1986:93).

525 Tobacco smoking pipes have a highly symbolic value for the
526 Lakota people, being used in religious rituals and for social and
527 recreational uses as well. Lakotas acquired the Sacred Pipe from
528 a mythological figure named White Buffalo Calf Woman. The story
529 begins with two men who are hunting. White Buffalo Calf Woman
530 appeared to them and ended the life of one of the men who thought
531 he could possess her. White Buffalo Calf Woman bade the more
532 reverent hunter to tell his village about her and prepare for her
533 visit. The village complied and during her visit she gave them a
534 sacred pipe. The pipe represents the natural world, the earth
535 and all that grows in it along with all the four-legged animals
536 and winged creatures. The people were told to respect the earth
537 and all that it held for them and to use the pipe in specific
538 rituals, whereupon the woman turned into a white buffalo calf and
539 walked over a hill and disappeared (W. Powers 1975).

540 Before leaving the Lakotas, White Buffalo Calf Woman
541 instructed them in a number of rituals, which were incorporated
542 with existing Lakota ceremonies to become known as the Seven
543 Sacred Rites. *Inipi*, the sweat lodge ceremony, and
544 *hanblecheyapi*, crying for a vision, were used by the Lakotas
545 before the coming of the White Buffalo Calf Woman. They were
546 incorporated into the Seven Sacred Rites (W. Powers 1975:83;
547 Brown 1953:4). *Wanagi yuhapi* is "keeping the ghost or soul," a
548 ritual to assure safe passage to the hereafter (W. Powers
549 1975:93-95; Brown 1953:10-30). *Wiwanyag wachipi* is the Sun Dance
550 ceremony described above. *Hunkapi*, the making of relatives, is a
551 form of adoption that creates a bond between two people that is
552 stronger than kinship (W. Powers 1975:100). The White Buffalo
553 Ceremony was also one of the Seven Sacred Rites, known as *ishna*
554 *ta awi cha lowan* (M. Powers 1986:70). The last of the Seven
555 Sacred Rites is *tapa wanka yap*, the throwing of the ball, which
556 signifies receiving knowledge (W. Powers 1973:103; Brown
557 1953:127-138).

558 The Lakotas believed that objects, people, and situations
559 were capable of being transformed into sacred phenomena (W.
560 Powers 1975). *Taku wakan* (sacred thing(s)) may be so either
561 temporarily or permanently. The permanently transformed

phenomena are known as *wakantanka* (*wakan*, sacred; *tanka*, great). *Wakantanka* is usually understood as God, or Great Mystery/Spirit. It is more complex than the traditional Christian concept as *wakantanka* is not understood as singular, but rather a composite of many things. While not symbolized as a whole, features of *wakantanka* are visibly represented in natural occurrences of Oglala life such as the weather (lightning, winds, sky), sun, and moon. Aspects of the Great Spirit may also be addressed in a kinship manner, most usually as "Grandfather," while the earth is reverently called "Grandmother" (W. Powers 1975).

Dances were performed to announce accomplishments as well as for religious purposes. The Sioux held annual summer/fall gatherings for communal bison hunts, during which time they performed the Sun Dance Ceremony. Performed only by men, the ceremony involved piercing the flesh with thongs inserted in the dancer's chest which were then attached to a sacred pole. As the men danced, with the thongs taunt, they blew on turkey quill whistles, dancing further and further from the pole until the thong pulled out of their chests (Hamilton 1971). The purpose was to fulfill various vows and pray for the entire group through this sacrifice (W. Powers 1975; Walker 1979). Participation in the Sun Dance is the fulfillment of a personal vow and is a sacrifice given in thanksgiving or in entreaty for some supernatural assistance (W. Powers 1975:95-100, 154).

Vision quests are undertaken to understand dreams or determine outcomes of events. The person seeking a vision is under the guidance of a shaman who guides the subject in the proper rituals necessary to obtain a vision. The vision seeker is left alone in a remote place for two to four days without food or water. The rite is preceded and followed by a sweat lodge ritual. After the final sweat lodge, a holy man interprets the individual's vision (W. Powers 1975).

Yuwipi is a term applied to curing rituals within a darkened room. A holy man is wrapped in a blanket and bound. During the ritual, spirits manifest themselves to the *yuwipi* man (and sometimes to other participants in the room) to inform him how to heal the patient. Other participants may also entreat the spirits at this time (W. Powers 1975).

Connection with the NIMI Region

The NIMI study area comprised part of the territorial range of the Lakotas, particularly the Brulés, and was, for less than a year, home to Spotted Tail's Brulé people. The western part of the study area, from the middle reaches of the Niobrara River westward, was often described as the domain of the Sioux in general, especially for hunting and warring purposes, and of the Brulés in particular. The eastern part of the study area, from about the mouths of Ponca Creek and the Niobrara River eastward,

609 were frequently visited by Brulés, Oglalas, and unspecified Sioux
610 war parties for the purpose of raiding and attacking the Poncas
611 and Omahas.

612 The Brulés appear to have received their name from an
613 incident that occurred somewhere to the north and east of NIMI,
614 along a tributary of the Big Sioux River (Bray and Bray 1976:259-
615 260). There, according to the winter count kept by the Brulé
616 Battiste Good, a Brulé village was overtaken by a prairie fire
617 during the year 1762-1763 (Mallery 1893:304-305). Many of the
618 survivors were badly burned about the legs, hence the name *Sican-*
619 *zhu* was applied to them, translated into French as *Brulé*, "burnt
620 thigh."

621 Brulé raids into the eastern part of the NIMI study area may
622 have occurred as early as 1708-1709, for which Battiste Good
623 recorded a horse raid on the Omahas (Mallery 1893:295). Good
624 also recorded probable raids on the Omahas in the years 1725-
625 1726, 1731-1732, 1744-1745, and 1752-1753 (Mallery 1893:298, 299,
626 302, 303), although the Omahas were not necessarily living close
627 to NIMI during all of these dates.

628 Some descriptions of traditional Lakota territory in the
629 early nineteenth century include parts of NIMI. For example,
630 Lewis and Clark describe the Lakota domain as including the
631 "lower portion of the river Quicurre" (i.e., Niobrara River)
632 (Thwaites 1969, 6:99), and in 1823 Duke Paul Wilhelm of
633 Württemberg (1973:352-353) encountered a Brulé war party while
634 hunting bison in between Ponca Creek and the Niobrara River,
635 about 50 miles from the mouth of the former stream. In 1824, the
636 trader Joshua Pilcher observed that the Lakotas "range through
637 all the country watered by the l'Eau-qui-cours" (i.e., the
638 Niobrara drainage), as well as a much larger territory (cited in
639 Hartley 1983:1-33). In 1835, the missionary Samuel Parker
640 described the region "from the mouth of the Big Sioux River and
641 that on the south of the L'eau qui coure" (i.e., the Niobrara
642 River) as part of "the Sioux country" (cited in Hartley 1983:1-33
643 to 1-34). The middle and upper reaches of the Niobrara River
644 were described in the 1830s as Brulé territory (Denig 1961:16).
645 The Oglalas are reported as having requested in 1831 that a
646 trading post be built for them at the mouth of the Niobrara
647 River, but the accuracy of that statement has been questioned by
648 Hartley (1983:1-35) because that location is far from the
649 traditional hunting area of the Oglalas. The Fort Laramie Treaty
650 of 1851 established Sioux territorial boundaries for the Sioux,
651 the eastern line of which crossed the Niobrara River about 2.5
652 miles west of the mouth of Plum Creek, thus incorporating the
653 western part of NIMI in land reserved for the Sioux (Royce
654 1899:786; Hartley 1983:1-36; Hartley 1983:1-36 to 1-37 also cites
655 several other sources that describe the Brulés as controlling the
656 middle and western reaches of the Niobrara River during the
657 1850s). Brulé territory was described in 1860 as being west of a

line from "the forks of the Platte River to the mouth of White River," and the Brulés are described as being friendly to the Poncas at that time and also in 1862 (Mulhair 1992:6, 17). In an agreement with the U.S. Government dated June 23, 1875, the Lakotas ceded hunting rights in that part of the Great Sioux Reservation which lay "South and East of the southern divide of Niobrara river, west of 100° West longitude in Nebraska" (Royce 1899:882-883; Hartley 1983:1-39).

Relationships between the Lakotas and the NIMI tribes were generally characterized by hostility, with a long history of conflict between the Poncas and the Lakotas and the Lakotas even harassing their kinsmen the Santees and the Yanktons at times. Tabeau reported that Brulés had killed over half of the Poncas sometime after 1804 (Abel 1939:100). A group of Poncas, ironically returning home from a friendly visit to the Oglalas in 1824, were attacked by Brulés and 18 of the former were killed (Howard 1965:27). In 1833, the Sioux, undoubtedly Lakotas, were reported to be allied with the Poncas in a war against the Pawnees and in a joint bison hunt (Howard 1965:28). The Sioux and the Poncas are said to have jointly made war on the Omahas during the 1840s (Howard 1965:29). In 1859, the Brulés raided the Poncas (Mulhair 1992:5) and a combined party of Brulés, Oglalas, and Cheyennes fought a battle with the Poncas near the headwaters of the Elkhorn River (Howard 1965:31). The following year, Brulés attacked a Ponca hunting party on the Loup River (Mulhair 1992:6). The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 established the Great Sioux Reservation, which inadvertently included the Ponca lands, giving the Lakotas reason to step up their harassment of the Poncas and their neighbors, the Santees (Howard 1965:32). After 1868, numerous Lakota raids on the Poncas near the mouth of the Niobrara took place, with raids being recorded in the years 1869, 1870, 1872, 1873, and 1874 (Howard 1965:139; Mulhair 1992:35, 42-43, 46-47, 53-60). Partly as a result of this harassment, the Poncas were removed to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) in 1877 (Howard 1965). Spotted Tail's Brulé people were settled about the former Ponca Agency in the winter of 1877, but did not find the place to their liking and moved westward the following summer (Mulhair 1992:77).

Not all of the Lakota contacts with the NIMI tribes were of a negative or hostile nature, as suggested by several of the references above to peaceful interactions with the Poncas at times. Noted Ponca historian Peter Le Clair asserts that the Poncas obtained their first horses from Lakotas near the Black Hills, though other sources cite the "Padoucas" (believed to be either Comanches or Shoshones) as the source of the original Ponca horses (Howard 1965:49). Whether the animals were obtained by raiding or peaceful trade is not known. Ponca ethnographer James Howard (1965:47) states that Lakotas used to visit the Ponca Reservation to obtain kinnikinnick, a plant bark or leaf additive to smoking tobacco, from the Poncas, but this practice

708 evidently ceased sometime prior to about 1963.

709 In sum, Lakota groups, notably of the Brulé and Oglala
710 bands, made frequent use of the NIMI study area. The western
711 portion of NIMI was included in lands said to be controlled by
712 the Brulés or reserved for them by various treaties of the U.S.
713 Government, and Lakotas frequently raided the tribes who resided
714 in the eastern portion of NIMI, particularly the Poncas. While
715 Lakota war and hunting parties must certainly have at times
716 camped within the NIMI study area, no village or camp sites of
717 those people are known to exist in the study area, and such
718 archeological sites are unlikely to be identified in the future
719 because of the brief, transitory nature of the Lakota presence on
720 the land.

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CHAPTER 10

The Ioway Indians

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Anthropological Research

Some of the earliest detailed reports on the Ioway Indians come from early journal notes like those of Auguste Chouteau who's original report was published in 1816 and reprinted in *Glimpses of the Past* in 1940. Early ethnographers like A.R. Fulton published in 1882 *The Red Men of Iowa*, a history of those aboriginal tribes in the state of Iowa, while James Owen Dorsey published in 1890 detailed categories of Indian names from the Ioway and other Indian tribes. One of the first, and more comprehensive monographs on the Ioway Indians, titled *The Iowa*, was reprinted in 1911 by William Harvey Miner from the Indian Record and Historical Data of Thomas Foster dated 1876. In 1916 and 1926 respectively, anthropologist and ethnologist A. Skinner authored "Societies of the Iowa," which appeared in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, and "Ethnology of the Ioway Indians" which appeared in *Bulletins of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee*. In 1937, the United States Department of Interior published *Iowa Tribe of Indians of the Iowa Reservation in Nebraska and Kansas*, which discusses legal status, laws, government relations and more. One of the most comprehensive studies on the Ioway Indians was published by Martha Royce Blaine in 1979 titled *The Ioway Indians*, which continues to serve as a primary reference on the Ioway Indians today. Finally, a more recent publication that contains a section on the Ioway Indians and their presence in the NIMI area is the *Missouri National Recreational River: Native American Cultural Resources*, written by John Ludwickson, Donald Blakeslee, and John O'Shea, and published in 1981.

Origin, Migration, Cultural and Linguistic Affiliation

Numerous oral traditions suggest that the Ioway Indians descended from the Winnebago Nation before the turn of the eighteenth century. "The Iowa tribe of Indians forms one of the Southwestern branches of the great Dakota or Siouan stock and has been included both linguistically and ethnographically...with the Oto and the Missouri tribes, forming the so-called Chiwere group" (Miner 1911:xvii).

The Ioways were part of the Oneota Culture, an Indian name for the Upper Iowa River (Blaine 1979:7). Their numerous

43 migrations westward brought them to present-day Nebraska for a
44 time, but they were eventually removed to reservation lands in
45 Iowa, Kansas and Oklahoma. Oral traditions suggest that the
46 Ioway did not migrate alone:

47 Dakotas have a tradition saying that, when they first
48 saw the Ioways, they were living near the Falls of St.
49 Anthony on the Minnesota River...Ponca legend says at
50 one time the Poncas, Omahas, and Ioways were together
51 near the mouth of the White River in South Dakota.
52 Later the tribes descended the Missouri River to the
53 mouth of the Niobrara. Here they separated, and the
54 Ioways went to the vicinity of Dixon County in Nebraska
55 for awhile. (Blaine 1979:4)

56 The Ioways, and other descendants of Oneota culture, lived
57 in communities which were scattered over a large area in the
58 Mississippi and Missouri River valleys, encompassing the present
59 states of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, and
60 Nebraska. Other present day descendants of the Oneota culture
61 include the Otoe, Missouri, Winnebago, Osage, Kansas, and Quapaw
62 Indians. According to Blaine (1979), all of these communities
63 were culturally similar, sharing material traits, and cultural
64 behaviors such as patterns of subsistence, religious practices,
65 kinship terminologies, and other aspects of social organization
66 (Blaine 1979).

67 Oneota agricultural village sites were located on terraces
68 above the river's flood plain, which allowed the Oneota people to
69 utilize rich river-bottom soils, and allow them to observe
70 movement on the prairies about them. Evidence indicates their
71 houses were built of diverse and available resources such as wet
72 earth, chalk, bark, reed mats, wood, skins and hides. Physical
73 remains indicate evidence that the Oneota villagers hunted,
74 gathered, fished, planted, and dried, roasted, ground, and stored
75 goods for the hard winters. However, just how the villagers
76 divided these chores between men and women is not clear, but it
77 is speculated that a division of labor existed in which men
78 hunted on horseback with bows and arrows; and women maintained
79 the tipis and lit fires, made clothing, gathered foods and
80 prepared meats and hides, and were included in some ceremonies
81 (Blaine 1979).

82 Digging bowl-shaped or cylindrical pits in the ground the
83 Oneota people created storage, and by utilizing available
84 resources like clay and pounded mussel shells they made pottery.
85 With stone implements they ground their foods, and using reeds
86 and rushes from nearby rivers they made mats, baskets, and other
87 domestic items. "The Ioways continued to make pottery into
88 historic times, when trade goods replaced it with metal "trade"
89 kettles, iron vessels, and factory-made ceramics" (Blaine
90 1979:10).

*Tribal territory/geography, European Contact,
and Presence in Nebraska*

The Ioway Indians, being first identified as part of the Oneota Culture, advanced into the Plains through Missouri and Minnesota, having come from areas east of the Mississippi near the Great Lakes in Michigan. Their sites have been found in present-day northeastern Iowa and other nearby locations (Blaine 1979:7). In an 1836 petition regarding land claims, the Ioway themselves claimed that for centuries they had occupied land extending between the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers, an area extending from the mouth of the Missouri, and north to the head branch of the Calumet, upper Ioway and Des Moines Rivers (Blaine 1979:164).

Ioway oral tradition suggests that first European contact was made in the early 1700s at the Great Lakes. Journals of seventeenth century French explorers, however, suggest that contact was made as early as 1676:

...on April 20, 1676, the first known detailed report in which the name "Aiaoua" appears was written by Father Louis Andre from St. Francis de Xavier Mission on La Baye des Puants (La Baye), or Green Bay. (Blaine 1979:17)

Exact dates being undetermined, these and other historical accounts, nevertheless, indicate that the Ioway were present, and in the 1700s were moving around throughout the area between the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers. It has been suggested that prior to 1700, they occupied the easternmost part of this region, an area within easy distance of tribes east of the Mississippi, and after 1700 they moved west to the Missouri-Little Sioux region, perhaps due to pressure from other eastern groups (Blaine 1979:26).

According to Ludwickson, Blakeslee and O'Shea (1981), as taken from the map of Delisle (1718), and journals of Dorsey (1884, and 1886), Dorsey and Thomas (1907), Fletcher and La Flesche (1911), and evidence from the ethnohistorical record, the Ioway Indians were present along the Missouri, within NIMI, sometime between 1690 and 1750:

Iowas [went] beyond [the Omahas] till they reached Ionia Creek, where they made a village on the east bank of the stream, near its mouth, and not far from the site of the present town of Ponca...The location is described in 1886 as "the stream on which is situated the town of Ionia, Dixon County, Neb., hence its name 'where the Iowas farmed'." (Ludwickson, Blakeslee and O'Shea 1981:40)

136 The map by Delisle (1718) puts the Ioway village near the
137 Vermillion River across the river from Ionia. Another Ioway site
138 was near present-day Florence, Nebraska (Howard 1965:15;
139 Ludwicksen, Blakeslee and O'Shea 1981:40).

140 Later, in the 1765-68 period, Choteau reported the Ioway to
141 be on the Des Moines River, an area conveniently near traders.
142 In 1778, a Thomas Hutchins map shows two settlements on the east
143 side of the Mississippi River, perhaps near the mouth of the Des
144 Moines and Iowa Rivers; they were probably Ioway (Blaine 1979:48,
145 60). Blaine goes on to say,

146 the closest approximation of Ioway territory at the
147 beginning of the nineteenth century would include lands
148 that lay west of the Mississippi in present-day Iowa,
149 somewhere south of the northern boundary of the state
150 beyond the Ioway River watershed to the Des Moines
151 River at forty-three degrees latitude. This area then
152 extended to the Spirit Lake locality, which was
153 occupied at the beginning of the previous century, down
154 to the Little Sioux River to the Missouri, and then
155 down that river to the Grand and Gasconade Rivers area.
156 It possibly included the land between the Chariton and
157 the Mississippi and south of the Jeffreon River. These
158 lands included all those ceded by the Ioways to the
159 United States during the nineteenth century. The
160 peripheries of those areas were claimed by, contested
161 by, or shared with the Otos, the Missouris, the Kansas,
162 the Osages, the Sacs, the Foxes, the Omahas, and the
163 Yanktonai Sioux during different periods of Ioway
164 history. (Blaine 1979:82)

165 A treaty of 1824 caused the Ioway to cede a large section of
166 present-day Missouri, including hunting and village sites. This
167 treaty caused the Ioway to be moved to a small triangular area of
168 land between the Missouri state line and the Missouri River,
169 which they relinquished in trust in 1830. Having been
170 onslaughted with pestilence, and at war with other Indian
171 nations, their numbers at this time were estimated at only 1,000
172 (Fulton 1882). On September 17, 1836, the Ioway ceded all land
173 in Missouri, and were assigned a reservation in northeastern
174 Kansas (Blaine 1979: 142-43, 161; Miner 1911: xxxiv).

175 The 1836 petition to President Jackson claimed that the Sacs
176 and Foxes had no claim to the land west of the Mississippi that
177 had been granted to them in 1825, and objected to the fact that
178 these tribes had subsequently made cessions to the United States
179 (Blaine 1979:164-66). Of this petition, Blaine remarks: "For
180 the first time we read the Ioways' description of the extent of
181 their land...They again accuse the Sacs of taking their lands and
182 the treaty commissioners of misleading them. The commitments
183 made in their treaties have not been fulfilled, and they appeal

for redress" (Blaine 1979:167). A treaty was subsequently made with the Sacs and Foxes in which they released rights to all land between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. The treaty of 1838 caused the Ioways to cede all right or interest in the country between the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers, and between the Sac and Fox boundary and the Sioux boundary, as well as all cessions made by the Sacs and Foxes in those areas; thus ending their last claim to their homeland (Blaine 1979:169-171).

Circa 1879, pressure by white settlers raised the question of moving the Ioways to Indian Territory, and later, circa 1890, some of these Ioway Indians moved from Kansas to reservation land in central Oklahoma which was allotted to them in severalty. By this time, their population had dropped to some 500, and by 1885 their numbers were reduced to some 90 persons (Hodge 1912:613-614). Today, the Ioway Indians continue to live on reservation land in both Kansas and Oklahoma. Refer to *The Statistical Record of Native North Americans* (1990) for the current status of the Ioway Indians in both Kansas and Oklahoma.

Synonymy/Ethnonymy

There is a diversity of opinions as to the origin of the name "Iowa or Ioway." It has been interpreted as signifying "beautiful," "the beautiful land," "this is the place," "dusty noses," "grey snow," and "grey snow covered." The Ioway were termed the Ayouas by the French, the Ajoues by the Spaniards, the Ayouway by Lewis and Clark in 1804, the I-o-way by later orthographers, and finally the I-o-wa. According to Fulton (1882),

...we conclude that the word "Iowa" is of Dakota origin, that it was from the earliest knowledge of the whites the name applied, with slight changes from time to time, to a tribe belonging to the Dakota race, and that the literal meaning according to the very best authority, is something to write or paint with. Why the name was given to the tribe we may never know, but we do know it became the name of our Territory and State because it was the name of the tribe who occupied the soil, and because it commended itself to the whites as euphonious and appropriate. (Fulton 1882:426)

The first known detailed report in which the name Iowa or Ioway, spelled "Aiaoua," appears was written in 1676 by Father Louis André from St. Francis de Xavier Mission on La Baye des Puants (La Baye), or Green Bay" (Blaine 1979:17). According to Blaine (1979), the name by which the Ioways identified themselves when they first met the Europeans was Paxoche (Blaine 1979:3). While translation of this term varies, early missionaries translated it as "dusty noses." According to the journal of Stephen H. Long in his 1819-1820 journey recorded their name as

"gray snow." And, finally, Alanson Skinner in 1926 translated their name as "snow-covered" (Blaine 1979:3-4). For further descriptions of Ioway Synonymies see (Miner 1911:Appendix C; Wedel 1978).

Religion

The Ioway believed in many legends. Because animals were considered supernatural and sacred, they were a major part of the Ioway religious system being considered coequals (Fulton 1882). One legend of primary importance is the legend of the "Black Bear People" who mythically came out of the earth to teach them agriculture. Because farming was a primary subsistence activity, they called the month of April the "cultivation moon" (Blaine 1979:10-11). They also believed in owl-like forest men, a similar mythological being of the "Little tree-dweller" that the Dakota believed in (Howard 1965:77).

The Ioway believed they originated from eight persons who's souls, after becoming deceased, entered the bodies of eight different animals, each of which represents a different sect, clan, or family (Wilhelm 1973:319). They are the Eagle, Pigeon, Wolf, Bear, Elk, Beaver, Buffalo, and Snake, being distinguished primarily by the their hair cut or style (Fulton 1882).

The mescal bean, sacred to many of the Prairie and Plains tribes, was utilized by the Ioway in some religious ceremonies; it was consumed in the form of a tea (Howard 1965:124).

Social and Political Organization, and Economy

According to Miner (1911), the Ioway's social structure was based on the "camp circle." The circle was divided into two halves, which served as phratries (Miner 1911:xxvi). According to Underhill (1953), however, these half circles were called moieties (winter and summer).

Their tribe was organized into ten exogamous father clans, membership to which was denoted among young boys by a characteristic way of cutting the hair, although all men wore their hair the same way. The Black Bear clan led the first phratry, which also included the Wolf, the Eagle and Thunder, the Elk, and the Beaver clans. This division planned the winter hunt and winter and spring activities. The tribe's principal chief came from the Bear clan during winter. The Buffalo, Pigeon, Snake, and Owl clans composed the other phratry, which was responsible for agriculture and for the spring, summer, and fall activities. In the summer, the Buffalo clan chose the principal chief. Leadership positions were hereditary, but important decisions had to be reached by consensus (Herring 1990:71).

The Ioway were also divided into religious "Dancing Societies:" the Otter, the Red Medicine, and the Buffalo (Blaine

277 1979:193). Additionally, they had war, animal, mystery, and
278 shamanistic societies, to which membership was through vision
279 (Underhill 1953:151).

280 Marriage was determined by a strict class system. All
281 people had to marry within their own class, and outside their
282 clan (Blaine 1979:211). Three classes were recognized: royalty,
283 or hereditary chiefs and their families; nobility, or important
284 warriors; and commoners (Skinner 1916:683-4).

285 The Ioway economy was diverse. Being semi-nomadic people,
286 their subsistence practices included hunting, agriculture, and
287 horticulture, the contribution of each, however, is not known
288 (Ludwickson, Blakeslee, and O'Shea 1981:45).

289 *Crafts, Traditions and Socializing*

290 Concerning crafts, the Ioway wove floor mats out of reeds
291 over bark, much like the Winnebagoes and the Central Algonquians.
292 During important visits with other tribes they exchanged these
293 crafts in addition to performing games, dances, and adoptions
294 in order to establish and reinforce kinship ties and establish
295 strong alliances (Blaine 1979:172).

296 By the 1820's the Ioway had adopted many characteristics of
297 Plains Indian tribes (Herring 1990:72). Miner describes several
298 of the games practiced by the Ioway. He divided the games into
299 games of chance, which were of primary importance and games of
300 dexterity (Miner 1911). For instance, the game of "platter,"
301 played almost always by women, consisted of "little blocks of
302 wood marked with certain points for counting, to be decided by
303 throws, the lot being shaken in a bowl and thrown out on a sort
304 of pillow" (Miner 1911:xxix). Bets were made on the number of
305 points and colors. Another game was the game of moccasin, which
306 resembled the shell game whereby objects were hid in one of
307 several moccasins and the opponents had to guess the right one to
308 acquire tallies. The tallies or points could then be used to win
309 horses, ponies, guns, buffalo robes, and more (DeMallie 1982).
310 Other games included the game of Arrow, which was a religious
311 game, and the game of "Ball-playing or Racket," which was usually
312 a man's game involving the toss of a ball using a racket with a
313 net on the end, as in lacrosse (Miner 1911).

314 Miner (1911) describes several Ioway dances: the welcome
315 dance, given in honor of visitors; the war dance, given after a
316 war party had returned or for amusement; the approaching dance,
317 in which the dancers portrayed methods of advancing towards an
318 enemy; and the eagle dance, in which the dancers take the
319 position of an eagle (Miner 1911). To this list Blaine adds
320 descriptions of dances related to hunting and warfare: The
321 Buffalo Hunting Dance and the Bear Hunting Dance, which were held
322 before hunting the animals; and the Scalp Dance, which served as

323 a record of the ability of the warriors. The Calumet or Pipe
324 Dance was used to conclude a peace party (Blaine 1979:178-182).
325 They also performed the Stomp dance, a dance very similar to the
326 Snake dance of the Eastern Woodland tradition (Howard 1965:115-
327 116).

328 *Ornamentation and dress*

329 Ornamentation among the Ioway was common. Both sexes
330 usually had each ear pierced in four places, fastening porcelain
331 ear pendants into these holes; they often paid high prices for
332 these luxuries. Their clothing was usually bright colored, the
333 women wearing skirts of calico or cloth, leggings of blue or
334 scarlet cloth set with beads or coral, and moccasins decorated
335 with hog bristles or porcupine quills. The men typically had
336 their hair pulled out except for a tuft on the back of the
337 cranium to which they fastened red-dyed deer tails (Wilhelm
338 1973:318). This was referred to as the roach hairdress among the
339 Ioway (DeMallie 1982:202).

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CHAPTER 11

Winnebagos

By Michelle L. Watson

Introduction

It remains uncertain where the Winnebagos originated from before they occupied Wisconsin. They themselves tell myths that give their origins along the Door Peninsula, the eastern arm of Green Bay, on Lake Michigan in what is now Wisconsin, near the place where they first encountered white explorers in 1634, members of the Jean Nicolet expedition. A large lake nearby in Wisconsin, that feeds into the Fox River and drains into Lake Michigan, is named after the tribe-Winnebago Lake. It is not definitely known, however, where the Jean Nicolet expedition met the Winnebagos, but it is presumed to be at a place called Red Banks, north of Green Bay (Hodge 1910; Radin 1937; 1970).

The Winnebagos are first mentioned in U.S. diplomatic history, "...in the reports given of a council held in July, 1815, at "Portage des Sioux," in Missouri, after the treaty of Ghent" (Jackson 1964:218), and their first treaty was made in 1816 (Jackson 1964; Coffey 1984). This treaty was called,

a treaty of peace and friendship between the Indians and William Clark and others, "Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States and undersigned chiefs and warriors of that portion of the Winnebago Tribe residing on the Ouisconsin River. (Coffey 1984:9)

The Prairie du Chien Treaty of 1825, however, marked the beginning of treaty-making with the United States Government (Royce 1899:712).

After a series of treaties with the United States and resettlement schemes between 1815 and 1865, some 1,200 Winnebagos were resettled on reservation land in northeastern Nebraska. The remaining Winnebagos refused to leave their ancestral and aboriginal homelands in Wisconsin.

The Winnebagos, like the Kickapoos and later the Sauks and Foxes, did attempt to resist white intrusion onto their lands and the forced relocation westward. The force of this intrusion, however, was too strong. White farmers were taking occupancy of their lands, fur trappers were intruding on a trade they had

41 entered into circa 1665, and miners poured in, in quest of the
42 rich lead deposits in the upper Mississippi country of northwest
43 Illinois and southwest Wisconsin. By 1641, the Winnebagos had
44 lost some 1,500 persons to an epidemic and some 500 more to war
45 with the Fox (Champagne 1994). Thus, they were unable to
46 successfully resist further intrusions. By 1827, hundreds of
47 federal troops and militia had been moved onto their lands in an
48 attempt to forcefully persuade the Winnebagos to relocate
49 westward.

50 Today, the Winnebago Nation is comprised of those Winnebagos
51 living on the Omaha and Winnebago Reservation in northeastern
52 Nebraska, which was established in 1865, and the Winnebago
53 Federal Indian Reservation in Wisconsin which was established
54 circa 1875.

55 *Anthropological Research*

56 Early explorers journals like those of J. Nicolet, give some
57 of the earliest information on the Winnebagos. In 1910, the
58 *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, by Frederick Webb
59 Hodge, was published for the Thirtieth Bulletin of the Bureau of
60 American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution. It continues
61 to serve as a classic study of Winnebago origins, social
62 organization, religion, and etc. The first comprehensive study
63 of the Winnebagos, conducted again under the auspices of the
64 Smithsonian Institutions Bureau of American Ethnology, was titled
-65 *The Winnebago Tribe*, and completed by Paul Radin in 1923 for the
66 Bureau's Thirty-Seventh Annual Report. It was reprinted in 1970
67 and continues to serve as a primary source of information on the
68 Winnebago Indians. Current publications on the Winnebagos,
69 however, were not located.

70 *Cultural and Linguistic Affiliations*

71 The Winnebago Indians, unlike all the other Indians of the
72 western Great Lakes, spoke a Siouan language, not an Algonquian
73 one. Thus, they are members of the Siouan linguistic family,
74 "and to a subdivision comprising also the group called by J.O.
75 Dorsey (1897) Chiwere, which includes also the Iowa, Oto, and
76 Missouri" (Swanton 1952:258). They not only share similarities
77 in dialect, but also similarities in culture with the Iowas,
78 Otos, Missouris, Omahas, Osages, and Otos (Hodge 1910:958;
79 Underhill 1953:142).

80 Early on the Winnebagos were called Puants by the French,
81 and Stinkards by the English (Fulton 1882:146; Swanton 1952:258;
82 Jackson 1964:218). The origin of the name Puants may have come
83 from a group of American Indians called the Otchagras, who were
84 commonly called Puans, and once occupied the shores of Green Bay
85 where the Winnebagos were supposedly first contacted (Radin
86 1970).

87 The Winnebagos have historically called themselves by
88 various names: Hoch-un-ga-re which means Trout Nations and
89 Horoji which means Fish Eaters. They are called Wee-ni-bee-gog
90 (also Winnebago) by Algonquin tribes, a name formed from two
91 Algonquin words, weenud, meaning foul, and nibeeg, meaning
92 waters. The Otoes, Iowas, Omahas and Missouris called the
93 Winnebagos Hoch-un-ga-ra, the Sioux called them O-ton-kah (Fulton
94 1882:146), and there were various other names applied to them
95 over the decades (see Swanton 1952:258).

96 *Historical Occupations*

97 It remains uncertain where the Winnebagos originated from
98 before they entered Wisconsin. They, themselves, have no oral
99 traditions telling of their migrations from the east, but they,
100 as well as the Otos, Missouris, Omahas, and Poncas, have many
101 myths that give the Winnebago origins at Green Bay. Dorsey was
102 informed by Iowa chiefs that these above mentioned groups once
103 formed part of the Winnebago Nation and that, after migrating
104 from homelands north of the Great Lakes, the Winnebagos stopped
105 at Lake Michigan while the other groups continued a southward
106 migration. Thus, when the Winnebagos were first contacted, they
107 were surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes rather than kindred
108 Siouan tribes (Radin 1970:4).

109 The Winnebagos consider their origins to be on the west
110 shore of Lake Michigan, north of Green Bay, at a place called Red
111 Banks. They claim the Iowas, Otoes, Omahas and Missouris
112 descended from them, as they for centuries constituted a powerful
113 nation, and "...the Winnebago, Iowa, Oto, and Missouri, speak
114 dialects naturally intelligible to one another, and show many
115 cultural similarities" (Hodge 1910:958). By 1766 the Winnebagos
116 had receded from the Green Bay area and resettled on Fox River
117 which empties into the end of the bay, and is located near Lake
118 Winnebago and the present-day city of Neenah (Fulton 1882:147;
119 Radin 1937:3; 1970).

120 The Winnebagos came to be allies with many of the other
121 tribes that also lived in the country around Lake Michigan. The
122 Menominees on the opposite side of Green Bay were early trading
123 partners. In later years, they traded with the Sacs, Foxes, and
124 Kickapoos. In addition to being good allies, the Winnebagos
125 could also be a dangerous enemy. Some of them fought against the
126 British in the French and Indian Wars of 1689-1763 and then they
127 sided with the British against the rebels in the American
128 Revolution of 1775-1783 after the French gave up Canada. They
129 also participated in Tecumseh's Rebellion of 1809-1811. By 1820,
130 the Winnebagos had too mount resistance against American settlers
131 and miners. After the Black Hawk War of 1832, however, their
132 numbers had dwindled greatly and they were forced to relocate
133 west of the Mississippi River.

134 The Winnebagos made their first treaty with the United
135 States in June of 1816, with numerous treaties following (see
136 Coffey 1984:9). By 1840 the Winnebagos had ceded to the United
137 States all of their remaining lands in Wisconsin which had been
138 assigned to them by a treaty in 1832 (Swanton 1952:269). Many
139 Winnebagos relocated to a reservation area in Iowa called
140 "Neutral Ground" (Hodge 1910), while others remained hidden
141 throughout their ancestral and aboriginal woodlands of Wisconsin
142 (Swanton 1952:259). Because their move to Iowa was disrupting to
143 the Foxes, Sacs, and Sioux, they agreed in 1841 to relocate on
144 the western bank of the Mississippi River. In 1846 the
145 Winnebagos were removed to a reservation north of Minnesota
146 River, in Minnesota, and in 1848 they removed to a Long Prairie
147 Reservation (Hodge 1910), which was "bounded by Crow Wing, Watab,
148 Mississippi, and Long Prairie Reservations, Minn." (Swanton
149 1952:259).

150 The 1862 Sioux outbreak forced some of the Winnebagos from
151 Minnesota, in 1863, to a newly established Santee and Winnebago
152 reservation at Crow Creek, or Usher's Landing, on the Missouri
153 River in South Dakota, some eighty miles above Fort Randall
154 (Washburn 1975:203-204). There they found inadequate clothing
155 and shelter, their crops were fair at best, they were receiving
156 half rations, hunting was poor, and there was little work for
157 them with area farmers as laborers. Many of the Winnebagos thus
158 sought refuge on the Omaha Reservation in northeastern Nebraska
159 (Jackson 1964:234), until the last treaty with them was made on
160 March 8, 1865, which relocated them to the Omaha Reservation in
161 northeastern Nebraska.

162 The Winnebagos ceded land in Dakota Territory at Usher's
163 Landing in exchange for some 100,000 acres of reservation land in
164 Nebraska, land that had been recently ceded by the Omaha Tribe
165 for that purpose (Jackson 1964:237; Coffey 1984). Included in
166 the treaty was the "government's agreement to provide saw and
167 grist mills, to fence and plow a hundred acres for each band of
168 the tribe, to supply them with seed, implements, horses and cows,
169 as well as \$2,000 worth of guns" (Hautzinger n.d.). The
170 Winnebagos continued to experience hardships on their new
171 reservation in Nebraska, resulting in many of them leaving to
172 seek wage labor, or to reunite with those Winnebagos who were
173 still living in Wisconsin.

174 Then, "In the winter of 1874 the Wisconsin "strays" were
175 moved down to the Nebraska Reservation. They were discontented,
176 fomented dissatisfaction in the tribe, and in less than a year
177 more than half of them had wandered back to Wisconsin again"
178 (Jackson 1964:244) where they remain today. A short time later,
179 they were granted tribal status in Wisconsin. Today, they form
180 the Winnebago Federal Indian Reservation located just west of
181 Black River Falls, Wisconsin. For more information on Winnebago
182 life prior to their removal from the western Great Lakes, see

183 (Olson 1973).

184 "In 1829 the Winnebago population was estimated at 5,800.
185 In 1837 their population was reported to be 4,500, nearly one
186 fourth of the tribe had died the previous year from small-pox,
187 and in 1855 the tribe had an estimated population of only 2,754
188 (Fulton 1882:150). Hodge (1910) gives the following population
189 estimates: In 1867 there were 1,750 Nebraska Winnebagoes and 700
190 Wisconsin Winnebagoes. In 1886 there was an estimated 1,222
191 Nebraska Winnebagoes and 930 Wisconsin Winnebagoes. In 1910 the
192 Nebraska Winnebago population was estimated at 1,063 while the
193 Wisconsin Winnebago were reported at 1,270 (Hodge 1910:960). "In
194 1937 the United States Indian Office reported 1,456 Winnebagoes in
195 Wisconsin and 1,212 in Nebraska" (Swanton 1952:259). The
196 1990 Census reported 1,151 American Indians living on the
197 Nebraska reservation and some 2,000 on the Wisconsin reservation.

198 *Aboriginal Culture, Subsistence, and Social Organization*

199 The social organization of the Winnebagoes is based on two
200 phratries, known, respectively, as the Upper or Air, and the
201 Lower or Earth divisions (Hodge 1910:959). Each division was
202 then divided into exogamous clans. The Upper division has four
203 clans: Thunderbird, Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon (extinct). The
204 Lower division has eight divisions: Bear, Wolf, Water-spirit,
205 Deer, Elk, Buffalo, Fish, and Snake (Hodge 1910:959; Radin 1970).
206 The Thunderbird and Bear clans are considered the leading clans
207 of their respective phratries. It's the Thunderbird clan that
208 resides over the peace lodge and the Bear clan presides over the
209 war lodge. Each clan has a number of customs relating to birth,
210 the naming feast, death and the funeral wake. Of these customs,
211 the burial rituals are of greatest importance. Members of each
212 clan must bury their own clan members, even though they're of the
213 same phratry (Hodge 1910:960).

214 The Winnebagoes traditionally practiced patrilineal descent
215 and observed patrilocal post-marital residence patterns as the
216 norm. However, "When a Winnebago woman marries a man who either
217 has no clan or who reckons descent in the mother's line, the
218 children are always considered as belonging to the mother's clan.
219 This, however, lasts for only one generation" (Radin 1970:144).
220 According to Radin (1970), already in 1923, these traditional
221 practices of social organization were weakening greatly, and
222 other non-traditional practices were being accepted (Radin
223 1970:144-145).

224 In their material culture, the Winnebagoes were distinctly
225 timber people, and their houses and dress are practically
226 identical with those of the Sauk and Foxes, Menominees, and
227 others (Hodge 1910:960). In Wisconsin they built wigwams and
228 lodges of animal skins, mats and bark, a Central Algonquian
229 tradition, and utilized a fire in the center of the lodge (Radin

230 1937:8; 1970). Their subsistence economy was based upon procured
231 food, which was hunted, fished, harvested, and gathered (Fulton
232 1882). They raised primarily corn, squash, beans, and tobacco
233 (Radin 1970:67). They also participated in communal bison hunts
234 in the prairies to the southwest. They dressed and ornated and
235 adorned themselves for their varying social occasions and
236 seasons, and wore blankets as an essential article of dress at
237 all times. Unlike some other Plains Indians, the Winnebagos
238 buried their dead (Fulton 1882).

239 The Winnebagos follow examples of the Sioux in their
240 political organization. They had two leaders of equal power, the
241 war chief and the peace chief. The war chief was the volunteer
242 brave who functioned only in time of battle. The peace chief
243 was, however, chosen for wisdom and generosity, and served for
244 life (Underhill 1953:121).

245 For the Winnebagos, the Great Spirit made man and woman
246 (Fulton 1882). Spiritually, the earth is the grandmother of the
247 Indians, and the first four men made were the north, south, east,
248 and west winds. The buffalo is the land which keeps the earth
249 steady, and tobacco and other seeds made man and woman fertile.
250 The Winnebagos had particular notions about the spiritual world
251 as all Indian cultures did. They believed in a large number of
252 spirits, most of whom were seen as animals or animal-like beings
253 capable of taking any form they wished (Washburn 1975:52). They
254 respected the rattlesnake, wolf, bear, turtle, and other animals
-255 (Fulton 1882:156), and, like many Midwestern tribes, told tales
256 of hairy elephants (Howard 1965:78).

257 The Winnebagos possessed beliefs very similar to the Dakota,
258 Ponca, and Central Algonquian tribes (Hodge 1910:960). They
259 possessed two primary important tribal ceremonies, the Medicine
260 Dance (also Mankani), and the Winter Feast or War-bundle Feast
261 (also Wagigo). The Medicine Dance was performed in the summer to
262 prolong life and to instill certain virtues. It's ceremony is
263 similar to the Algonquian "Midewiwin", to the Dakota "Mystery
264 Dance", and to the Omaha "Pebble Ceremony" (Hodge 1910:960).

265 The Winter, or War-bundle Feast, the only distinct clan
266 ceremony among the Winnebago, was performed in the winter to give
267 their people power in war by pulling on "all the supernatural
268 deities known to them" (Hodge 1910:960). There were twelve war
269 rituals performed at the feast, a ritual for each clan of the
270 Winnebago tribe. Each clan possessed a separate war bundle, each
271 containing different contents. The ceremony was traditionally
272 practiced to celebrate war victories and to increase war powers,
273 but the Winnebagos developed it into a general ceremony of
274 thanksgiving to the earth and sky spirits (Radin 1970:379).
275 Traditionally, a male member from each of the clans possessed the
276 sacred clan bundle which was passed down through the generations.

277 Other ceremonies among the Winnebagos include the Buffalo
278 Dance, which was a spiritual calling for the buffalos in the
279 spring, the Herucka, a ceremony very similar to the Omaha Grass
280 dance, the Afraid-to-eat-Greens ceremony, and the peyote
281 ceremony. Peyotism was apparently a recent phenomenon among the
282 Winnebago, being practiced among modern cults found among the
283 Winnebagos (Radin 1970:340). Supposedly, either the Otos or the
284 Winnebagos were responsible for introducing peyotism to the Omaha
285 Reservation circa 1907 (Arth 1956). Other ceremonial dances
286 included the Snake, Scalp, Grizzly-bear, Sore-eye, Ghost,
287 farewell, Hokixere, and captive's death dance (Hodge 1910:960;
288 Radin 1970:331-339).

289 Shamanistic and medicinal practices included medicines and
290 ceremonies. Two general magical ceremonies practiced among the
291 Winnebagos were the Warukana, to know something by exerting one's
292 powers, and the wanantcere, to hypnotize in the distance (Radin
293 1970:206). Traditional medicines were generally used to ward off
294 animal spirits in men. Fasting was also practiced for medicinal
295 purposes, as well as for receiving spiritual visions.

296 For the Winnebagos, the "Trickster is both culture-hero and
297 trickster, benefactor and buffoon, god and man...Trickster is
298 seen as the creator of the world and bringer of culture" (Washbrn
299 1975:59). Other mythological figures include the Manuna (also
300 earth-maker), the Bladder, the Turtle, He-who-wears-heads-as-
301 earrings, and the Hare (Hodge 1910:960). Their spiritual beliefs
302 were so important to their way of life that they blame their
303 cultural disintegration on the loss of many of them as a direct
304 result of acculturation and assimilation (Washburn 1975).

305 The Winnebagos enjoyed games and amusements. Among them
306 were men's lacrosse, women's lacrosse, and ceremonial lacrosse
307 (Lowie 1963:225), football, hit-the-tree game, the kicking game,
308 the moccasin game, the dice game, cup-and-ball game, and tree
309 game (Radin 1970:72-75).

310 *The Winnebago connection to the NIMI region*

311 It was the 1862 Sioux outbreak that forced the Winnebagos
312 from Minnesota to a newly established Santee and Winnebago
313 reservation at Usher's Landing on the Missouri River in South
314 Dakota, some eighty miles above Fort Randall:

315 The Santee Sioux and the Winnebagos, who had had no
316 hand in the outbreak of 1862, were, in 1863 exiled to a
317 forbidding reservation at Crow Creek on the Missouri
318 River eighty miles above Fort Randall. Inadequate
319 supplies and crop failures led to actual starvation in
320 1864. (Washburn 1975:203-204)

321 Because they experienced continued hardships, many sought refuge

on the Omaha Reservation in northeastern Nebraska (Jackson 1964:234). With the 1865 Treaty, the Winnebagos ceded land in Dakota Territory at Usher's Landing in exchange for the some 100,000 acres of reservation land in Nebraska, land that had been recently ceded by the Omaha Tribe for that purpose (Jackson 1964:237; Coffey 1984). The treaty included saw and grist mills, fencing, plowed ground for each band of the tribe, a supply of seed, implements, horses and cows, and \$2,000 worth of guns (Hautzinger n.d.). After their move, they continued to experience hardships and, thus, many left to seek wage labor, or to reunite with those Winnebagos who were still living in Wisconsin.

Then, "In the winter of 1874 the Wisconsin "strays" were moved down to the Nebraska Reservation. They were discontented, however, and in less than a year over half of them had journeyed back to their ancestral and aboriginal homelands in Wisconsin where they remain today (Jackson 1964:244).

The Nebraska Winnebagos experienced population decline up until 1878, when they held new tribal elections and all but one chief was replaced, predominantly by more traditional chiefs who fostered a return to the old Winnebago traditions encompassing medicines and ceremonies. By the end of the decade,

the Nebraska Winnebagos lived in over a hundred frame and brick, two-story houses, and virtually every family held the patent on their allotment. Agricultural production ranged from twenty to forty thousand bushels of crops annually. In 1879, the Winnebago and Omaha agencies were consolidated...despite the fact that the tribes spoke different languages and had not been on friendly terms for some time. (Hautzinger n.d.:12)

The 1990 Census reported the following: Out of the 2,341 people reported to be living on the Nebraska Winnebago Reservation, the majority were living in Thurston County. Of those, 1,151 were American Indians, the majority of males being between the ages of 1-14, and 22-54, and the majority of females being between the ages of 1-13, and 22-49. The reservation acreage was reported at 27,538 acres, of which 4,241 acres were tribal land. Of those employed, most were in manufacturing.

Today, the present Winnebago Reservation in Wisconsin consists of portions of 10 counties in the southern part of the state. They had, in the late nineteenth century, a population of less than 400. Today, there is an estimated 2,000 Winnebagos living in Wisconsin, both on and off the reservation. They have however, a radically changed life style, one that is "gravitated toward the resort area of Wisconsin Dells, where supplemental income can be gained by selling baskets and other crafts to tourists and participating in "ceremonials" staged for the

369 vacationers" (Kehoe 1992:325). Established bingo halls have also
370 radically changed their lives.

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CHAPTER 12

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE IN NEBRASKA, 1863-1879

Rebecca Hautzinger

The Winnebago, or Hochungra, were traditionally a Woodlands people, with ancestral ties to the Green Bay and Lake Winnebago region of east central Wisconsin.¹ They shared a common Siouan language with the Iowa, Oto and Missouri tribes. Neighboring Algonquin tribes influenced Winnebago material and artistic culture. Beginning with the Prairie du Chien Treaty in 1825, the Winnebago experienced a series of cessions and removals which culminated in the creation of a reservation in northeastern Nebraska in 1865.² This continual displacement splintered the Winnebago tribe, there always being some who refused to leave their homes, or who returned to Wisconsin in efforts to reclaim their aboriginal lands. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, along with the attached agency reports, provide a firsthand view of the hardships and adjustments the Nebraska Winnebagos endured while establishing a permanent home for themselves. The annual reports are especially critical because most of the Winnebago problems were a direct result of both the neglect and interference of the commissioners and agents.

When the Sioux Uprising of 1862 broke out in south central Minnesota, the Winnebago were living nearby on a reservation along the Blue Earth River. Following the violence, Minnesota settlers demanded that all Indians be removed from Minnesota, and while it was known that the Winnebagos had not been involved, Congress and the Office of Indian Affairs worked quickly to comply with public opinion. On February 21, 1863, Congress ordered the removal of the Winnebagos to a tract to be located somewhere behind state boundaries, within one hundred miles of Ft. Randall, in Dakota Territory.³ They were to be moved peaceably, if at all, and some of the more assimilated Winnebagos of mixed-blood were allowed to remain in Minnesota on their allotments. The cost for the removal, estimated at \$50,000, was to be absorbed by the Winnebagos through the sale of their reservation at Blue Earth.⁴

The responsibility for establishing the combined Santee and Winnebago reservation fell to Superintendent Clark Thompson. Commissioner William P. Dole instructed Thompson to acquire everything he deemed necessary to construct a permanent agency, including houses for the Indians, with the stipulation that he observe "the most rigid economy," and accomplish his job quickly.⁵ After he made arrangements for supplies, labor and livestock,

44 Thompson went in May to the Ft. Randall area to choose a location.
45 He decided on a site twenty miles above Crow Creek on the Missouri
46 River at Usher's Landing, which he reported contained "the best
47 timber and bottom land...above Fort Randall. It has good soil,
48 good timber and plenty of water."⁶ When Winnebago chief Baptiste
49 LaSallieur learned of this coice of a home for his people, he
50 remarked: "It is a damn cold country--no wood; damn bad country for
51 Indians."⁷ Brigadier General Alfred Sully, familiar with the
52 area, questioned Thompson's choice in letters to the Secretary of
53 the Interior and the War Department:

54 "In the selection of their new locality...I do not think good
55 judgment has been used. The land is poor; a low sandy soil.
56 I don't think you can depend on a crop of corn, even once in
57 five years as it seldom rains here in the summer."⁸

58 The agent for the Winnebagos, Saint A. D. Balcombe, received
59 notice to begin removal in early April, 1863.⁹ The Winnebagos,
60 unhappy but resigned to the move, made their way to Fort Snelling
61 at Mankato. They were each allowed to take only a hundred pounds
62 of personal goods with them. Everything else, including firearms,
63 was boxed and labeled, with the promise that it would be returned
64 to them once they arrived at Usher's Landing. Balcombe and
65 certain military officers successfully argued against returning
66 the guns to their owners.¹⁰ On May 27, 1863, just three months
67 after Congress passed the removal act, over 1,900 Winnebagos were
68 transported to Usher's Landing on poorly accommodated
69 steamboats.¹¹

70 The Crow Creek agency was poorly prepared for the arrival of
71 the Winnebagos. Thompson faced difficulties in obtaining the
72 necessary equipment, food, livestock and personnel in the short
73 time and at low prices allowed him by the Indian Office.¹² The
74 only completed construction was a stockade. The reservation
75 farmer managed to break a hundred acres of land for each of the
76 two tribes, but severe drought made the plowing difficult. It
77 soon became apparent that the crops would not survive the summer
78 heat.¹³ Only a small force of forty soldiers protected the
79 reservation from neighboring bands of hostile Dakota Sioux. The
80 Winnebagos began arriving on June 8, 1863, followed by Balcombe on
81 June 23.¹⁴ Thompson reported that the Winnebagos appeared happy
82 and well fed, with surplus provisions to sell, which prompted him
83 to immediately put them on rations, and confine them to the
84 reservation.¹⁵

85 Drought conditions, as expected, destroyed the crops that
86 first year. The Winnebagos found hunting virtually impossible.
87 Game was scarce, they were surrounded by hostile bands, and had no
88 weapons for hunting or protection. Food supplies became
89 dangerously low, and were of such poor quality that many who ate
90 them became sick and died.¹⁶ Chief Little Hill later told a

91 congressional investigator of the hardships they endured:

92 ...Before Clark Thompson...left us, he had a cottonwood
93 trough made and put some beef in it, and sometimes a whole
94 barrel of flour and a piece of pork, and let it stand a whole
95 night; and the next morning after cooking it, would give us
96 some of it to eat. We tried to use it, but many of us got
97 sick on it and died. They also put in the unwashed
98 intestines of the beeves...Some of our old women and children
99 got sick on it and died...¹⁷

100 In the autumn, Baptiste presented Thompson with a petition
101 signed by the chiefs and head men, telling of their desire to go
102 live with their "good friends," the Omahas.¹⁸ By September, over
103 1,350 people escaped Usher's Landing, leaving in small groups by
104 canoe.¹⁹ Some continued downriver to the Omaha reservation,
105 where they were welcomed by the Omaha tribe even though the Omaha
106 agent, Orasmus H. Irish, was unprepared to care for them. Many
107 spent a desperate winter near Ft. Randall, several hundred dying
108 of starvation and exposure.²⁰ A few chose to join the Iowa
109 tribe, others slipped back to Wisconsin and forty-six men enlisted
110 in a Nebraska cavalry regiment.²¹

111 Irish notified the Commissioner about the Winnebagos as early
112 as October, 1863, at which time the Commissioner expressed
113 astonishment at the news.²² Balcombe had not notified his
114 superiors that the Winnebagos were leaving Crow Creek, and had
115 done nothing to stop them. He later blamed the crop failure for
116 the exodus, and cited the lack of sufficient military support to
117 keep them on the reservation.²³ The Commissioner, nonetheless,
118 ordered Balcombe to restrain "his Indians."²⁴

119 On April 1, 1864, Robert W. Furnas replaced Irish as the
120 Omaha agent. Furnas reported over six hundred Winnebagos at the
121 agency at that time, and they continued to arrive at regular
122 intervals, another 1,254 coming by November.²⁵ At the same time,
123 nearly the entire tribe of the Poncas came to the reservation in a
124 destitute condition, having been without an agent for some time.
125 The Omaha leaders, led by Joseph La Flesche, became alarmed at the
126 growing numbers, and issued a list of eight by-laws that they
127 expected the refugees to follow, including such things as no
128 alcohol or gambling.²⁶ Furnas and the Omahas set aside a hundred
129 acres for the Winnebagos to farm near the mouth of Black Bird
130 Creek at the Missouri River. They raised a crop described simply
131 as "fair", which was supplemented by half rations of flour, beef
132 and salt. Many Winnebagos went looking for work as laborers for
133 white farmers, a custom that expanded over the years, regardless
134 of how much farming was done.²⁷

135 Balcombe spent the winter of 1864-65 in Sioux City, still
136 collecting his salary as Winnebago agent.²⁸ Meanwhile, the

137 Winnebagos continued to go without clothing or permanent shelter.
138 Money had been sent to Balcombe to provide clothing and blankets,
139 but never reached the tribe. Commissioner William P. Dole
140 authorized \$3,000 in emergency funds for Furnas to use toward
141 purchasing blankets and cloth. Dole recommended that all three
142 tribes, numbering over 3,000, be combined under one agency. He
143 found the tribes to be on friendly terms, the reservation roomy
144 enough, and considered it economically sound to pay just one agent
145 instead of three. The Omahas appeared willing to sell some of
146 their land for the use by the other tribes.²⁹

147 On March 8, 1865, the Winnebago leaders in Nebraska concluded
148 a treaty for the purchase of 97,497 acres from the Omaha tribe for
149 \$50,000, to use for a reservation.³⁰ Consisting of a strip about
150 seven miles wide and twenty-four miles long, and carved from the
151 northern third of the Omahas' reservation, the Winnebagos' new
152 home was well watered and forested, with the Missouri River
153 flowing along its eastern edge.³¹ The treaty included the
154 government's agreement to provide saw and grist mills, to fence
155 and plow a hundred acres for each band of the tribe, to supply
156 them with seed, implements, horses and cows, as well as \$2,000
157 worth of guns.³²

158 Saint A.D. Balcombe finally rejoined his charges on their new
159 reservation on May 26, twenty months after he had last seen them
160 at Crow Creek.³³ In August, a new Superintendent, E.B. Taylor,
161 visited the reservation. He met with Furnas, Balcombe and the
162 Winnebago chiefs, led by Young Prophet. The tribe expressed their
163 displeasure with the treatment they had received from Balcombe and
164 asked for his dismissal. They considered him an "unfaithful
165 officer," who cared nothing about their welfare and was "only
166 intent on making money for himself at the expense of the
167 tribe."³⁴

168 Taylor reported that Balcombe answered many of their charges
169 satisfactorily, but recommended his dismissal because of the
170 tribe's widespread unhappiness.

171 Taylor assured the Winnebagos that as soon as Congress
172 ratified the new treaty it was the government's intent to fulfill
173 all its obligations, the tribe's response being that they desired
174 the purchase be ratified as soon as possible.³⁵ Taylor eagerly
175 predicted that if the treaty were approved and the proper
176 improvements made, the Winnebago would be self-sufficient within
177 eighteen months.³⁶ The initial optimism on the part of the tribe
178 and its supervisors fell steadily as Congress delayed the
179 ratification until February, 1866. The Winnebagos faced
180 continuing hardships, unable to farm the new land, or to obtain
181 the promised food, clothing and supplies. Many continued to leave
182 the reservation in search of wage labor, or to head back to the
183 Winnebagos living in Wisconsin.

184 Charles Mathewson replaced Balcombe as agent to the
185 Winnebagos early in 1866. He reported finding the tribe in a sad
186 condition, with virtually nothing having been provided to them in
187 the way of homes and equipment since they left Minnesota three
188 years earlier.³⁷ Many were still sick and dying from exposure
189 and malnutrition. He estimated their population at 1,750, a
190 difficult figure to arrive at given the constant movement to and
191 from the reservation. A hundred of that number included men who
192 had recently returned from service in the Union Army.

193 In May, the Winnebago finally took possession of their
194 reservation and planted three hundred acres, on which Mathewson
195 reported yields of twenty thousand bushels of corn.³⁸ According
196 to their agent, once they were on their own reservation, the
197 Winnebagos' primary concerns were a school for their children,
198 allotments like they had known in Minnesota, and useful
199 employment.³⁹ By 1867, the Winnebagos farmed five hundred acres,
200 plus three hundred acres of gardens, with the agency farm
201 consisting of another four hundred acres.⁴⁰ This constituted a
202 substantial increase over the number of acres plowed in previous
203 years. Together the farms produced 15,000 bushels of corn and
204 10,000 bushels of wheat.⁴¹

205 Mathewson's yearly reports remained optimistic, citing
206 increases in yields, improvements in the general conditions on the
207 reservation, and decreases in sickness and deaths. Despite his
208 optimism, Winnebago population figures continued to fall, even
209 when taking into account intermittent arrivals from Wisconsin.⁴²
210 By 1869, only twenty-three homes were built, primarily for the
211 chiefs.⁴³ After the initial increase in the amount of acres
212 broken, the figure dropped off dramatically in 1869. In that
213 year, the Winnebago plowed only three hundred acres, compared to
214 six hundred the year before. The agency farm was non-existent
215 that year.⁴⁴ Little information about such problems appeared in
216 Mathewson's reports.

217 More evidence of dissension among the Winnebagos appeared in
218 1868, when the agent for the Omahas reported that the Winnebagos
219 had been stealing horses from the Omahas.⁴⁵ These thefts were
220 most often blamed on Wisconsin Winnebagos who were leaving the
221 Nebraska reservation. To gain money for the trip home, they stole
222 the horses on their way off the reservation, then sold them to
223 certain white men in Iowa, for well below the horses' value.⁴⁶ In
224 July, Nebraska Winnebago leaders, at the request of Superintendent
225 H.B. Denman, drew up a legal code and established a paid police
226 force of seven Winnebago men.⁴⁷

227 The Winnebago tribe experienced yet another change in agents
228 in 1869, when Howard White replaced Mathewson. White immediately
229 dispelled his predecessor's optimistic reports. White found the
230 tribe "sadly diseased," with a population drop of 179 from the

231 previous year.⁴⁸ All except about fifty people were living in
232 the timbered bluffs and ravines of the Missouri River, within a
233 four square mile area, for protection and shelter. The three
234 hundred acres that had been farmed produced only 6,000 bushels of
235 corn and 200 bushels of wheat.⁴⁹

236 Howard White was destined to become a long term agent for the
237 Winnebagos, serving all but two years well into the 1870s. He
238 followed strongly assimilationist policies that proved to be
239 divisive within the tribe. At the same time, during this period,
240 the Winnebago population stabilized somewhat and they enjoyed a
241 high level of agricultural success while much of Nebraska was
242 plagued with drought and locusts. White actively hundred and
243 twenty allotments were distributed, which became known as the
244 "Leming Allotments."⁵⁰ By 1873, under the supervision of agency
245 farmer Alexander Payer, a Winnebago, fifteen hundred acres were
246 under cultivation. A total of 110 frame and log houses had been
247 built, with White choosing the most "industrious" and "civilized"
248 to receive their homes first.⁵¹

249 When White first took over his duties, he became aware of
250 growing dissension among the older, traditional chiefs, the young
251 men and mixed-bloods. He capitalized on this division by
252 appointing twelve new chiefs, who in turn chose their own police
253 force.⁵² White then instituted tribal elections as a means to
254 "pave the way to citizenship," and to "break up the old tribal
255 relations."⁵³ Superintendent Barclay White wrote of Agent Howard
256 White's efforts, "The Winnebagoes are a striking example of what
257 can be accomplished...in the way of civilizing and christianizing
258 Indians when a proper influence is exerted over the tribe..."⁵⁴

259 A nagging issue that had concerned the Winnebagos since they
260 had left Crow Creek came to the forefront in the early 1870s.
261 That issue was the status of the Wisconsin Winnebagos. While the
262 Nebraska Winnebagos had struggled to establish themselves on their
263 reservation, the Wisconsin Winnebagos still had no permanent
264 home.⁵⁵ Some officials supported the idea of uniting the two
265 factions in Nebraska, while others, specifically Agent White,
266 opposed the consolidation. White found the Wisconsin Winnebagos
267 to be a bad influence on his Nebraska Indians, "far below them in
268 point of moral and civilization."⁵⁶ The government requested
269 that the Wisconsin Winnebagos either move to Indian Territory or
270 join their relatives in Nebraska, but when tribal leaders balked,
271 the government turned to the military. Between December 20, 1873
272 and early January, 1874, soldiers tracked down nine hundred
273 Winnebagos and shipped them all to the reservation in Nebraska.⁵⁷

274 In a memorial to Congress, the Nebraska chiefs expressed
275 their willingness to welcome their brothers, but were concerned
276 about the additional burden, and asked Congress to double the
277 funds available to the tribe.⁵⁸ Another of their concerns was

278 where on the reservation the additional people would live. The
279 existing timberland had already been allotted, so the Nebraska
280 Winnebagos inquired into purchasing more land from the Omahas.⁵⁹
281 The Omahas opposed having the Wisconsin group living nearby, but
282 on June 22, 1874, another 12,340 acres were purchased from them
283 for \$82,000.⁶⁰

284 The Wisconsin Winnebagos remained restless and dissatisfied
285 in Nebraska. Most refused to accept their issues from the
286 government, believing they had been promised more than they were
287 receiving. By 1874, only two hundred remained, many of the others
288 having returned once again to Wisconsin.⁶¹

289 The removal of the Wisconsin Winnebagos to Nebraska proved to
290 be disruptive, as Howard White had predicted. That upheaval,
291 combined with other occurrences, caused the tribe to look again to
292 traditional chiefs for leadership. White left the agency for two
293 years in 1874 and 1875, replaced by Taylor Bradley. During
294 Bradley's tenure, a measles outbreak claimed the lives of many,
295 especially among children. As many as ten children died in a two-
296 week span.⁶² The exodus of most of the Wisconsin Winnebagos was
297 reflected in a sharp drop in population figures in 1874, but the
298 decline continued well up to 1878.⁶³ In the tribal election
299 following Bradley's arrival, all but one chief was replaced,
300 predominantly by more traditional chiefs. They tended to foster a
301 return to the old medicines and ceremonies, and withdrew their
302 support for the reservation schools, making it almost impossible
303 to maintain attendance.⁶⁴

304 Howard White resumed his post, and his policies, in 1876. By
305 the end of the decade, the Nebraska Winnebagos lived in over a
306 hundred frame and brick, two-story houses, and virtually every
307 family held the patent on their allotment. Agricultural
308 production ranged from twenty to forty thousand bushels of crops
309 annually. In 1879, the Winnebago and Omaha agencies were
310 consolidated under White's supervision, despite the fact that the
311 tribes spoke different languages and had not been on friendly
312 terms for some time.⁶⁵

313 Assimilationist policies like those employed by White became
314 the foundation of hardships and problems faced by the Winnebagos
315 well into the twentieth century. For the time being, however, the
316 Nebraska Winnebagos achieved a degree of stability and established
317 a home for themselves, when just sixteen years earlier they had
318 faced devastation.

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CHAPTER 13

PAWNEES

By Michelle Moray

History of Anthropological Research

The Pawnees are one of the better known native peoples of the Plains, and considerable ethnographic data are available on them. However, much of the literature is biased towards descriptions of ceremonial life and cosmology (Chamberlain 1982; Dorsey 1906; Fletcher 1902, 1904; O'Brien 1986; Weltfish 1965) and therefore lacks attention to many other aspects of ethnographic detail. In addition, much of the information tends to focus on the culture of only one of the four Pawnee bands, the Skidis, but under the generic name for the entire tribe, "Pawnee." Blaine (1980:x) suggests that this is the result of the heavy reliance of early ethnographers on a single informant, James R. Murie, a Skidi Pawnee band member and ethnologist. Murie's descriptions of Skidi life were often generalized to include all four Pawnee bands (Skidi, Chaui, Kitkahahki, Pitahawirata), resulting in potential misconceptions.

While the definitive history of the Pawnees was produced by George Hyde in 1951, the accuracy of his treatment has received considerable criticism (Blaine 1980; White 1983). Murie wrote several articles detailing Skidi ceremonial life and social organization based on his firsthand knowledge and research (Murie 1914; 1915; 1981). Gene Weltfish's fieldwork among the Pawnees during the 1920s and 1930s resulted in a substantial contribution to the understanding of Pawnee life (Weltfish 1965). In addition, the earlier works of Grinnell (1889) and Dorsey (1904, 1906) provide valuable cultural context. Dunbar (1880a, 1880b) provides emphasis on the "South Bands" in his ethnologies. Excellent ethnohistorical accounts of Pawnee subsistence (Holder 1970; Osborn 1983), trade (Wishart 1979b), warfare (Secoy 1953), and dispossession (Wishart 1979a, 1985) are available. Waldo R. Wedel (1936, 1979a, 1979b, 1986) has published extensively on Pawnee archeology and is widely considered an authority. More recent contributions include works by White (1983) examining Pawnee subsistence, environment, and social change, and Blaine's (1990) account of the nineteenth-century removal of the Pawnees to Indian Territory. Blaine (1980) provides a recent comprehensive overview of anthropological literature pertaining to the Pawnees.

Ethnonymy

44 According to Grinnell (1889), the Pawnees called themselves
45 *Chahiksichahiks*, "men of men," but Hyde (1951) reports that the
46 Pawnees deny that this was their name. Another idea is that the
47 name "Pawnee" originated from the word *pariki*, meaning "a horn,"
48 possibly referring to a time when they wore their hair in a hair-
49 lock, stiffened with paint and fat and made to stand erect and
50 curved like a horn (Hodge 1912). However, according to Hyde
51 (1951:13), this was merely conjecture put forth by John Dunbar
52 which developed into the standard explanation for origin of the
53 Pawnee name. Regardless of its origin, the name *Pawnee* seems to
54 have only been used by the Pawnees' northern and eastern
55 neighbors in the seventeenth century, and later the name was
56 picked up by French traders who called them *Pani* (Hyde 1951:23).

57 The Skidi Pawnees, who always remained furthest west and
58 north of the other three bands, are spoken of as the North Band,
59 and the Kitkahahkis, Chauis, and Pitahawiratas collectively as
60 the South Bands. Translations of the three South Band names, as
61 reported by Grinnell (1889:216), are as follow: Kitkahahki--"on
62 the hill;" Chaui--"in the middle;" and Pitahawirata--"down the
63 stream" or "east," possibly specifying the general location of
64 the bands in their Nebraska territory. The English names of the
65 four bands of the Pawnees are Wolf (Skidi), Grand (Chaui),
66 Republican (Kitkahahki), and Tapaje (Pitahawirata) (Hyde 1951;
67 Grinnell 1889).

68 *Cultural and Linguistic Affiliation*

69 The Pawnees belong to the Caddoan language family as do the
70 Arikaras and Wichitas. The Pawnees have been characterized as
71 the most numerous and powerful of the Caddoan tribes (North
72 1961). The Pawnee confederacy was composed of four bands having
73 somewhat different origins: the Skidis (or North Band), who
74 claimed original kinship with the Arikaras; and the South Bands
75 (Chaui, Kitkahahki, and Pitahawirata) who reportedly migrated
76 north with the Wichitas (Blaine 1990; Hodge 1912; Hyde 1951).
77 Both divisions agree that the Skidis were present in Nebraska
78 long before the South Bands arrived in the area. The separation
79 was long enough (possibly up to a century) to result in
80 dialectical differences between the two groups (Blaine 1980,
81 1990; Hyde 1951).

82 *Origin and Migration Traditions & First Euroamerican Contacts*

83 Pawnee migration traditions suggest that the South Bands
84 migrated onto the Central Plains sometime during the seventeenth
85 or early eighteenth centuries. They did not migrate in a single
86 body, but in smaller groups over long periods of time, which
87 would be consistent with the contention that the Skidis were
88 earlier arrivals than the South Bands (Blaine 1980, 1990; Hyde
89 1951; Hodge 1912). Archeological evidence supports the idea that
90 the Pawnees, or perhaps just the Skidis, can be traced back to a

139 government sent military and peace commissioners to the Pawnees
140 (Blaine 1980; Hyde 1951). Roper (1989) relates that although
141 Lewis and Clark did not visit the Pawnees, they did give a
142 description of the four bands and their location (Lewis & Clark
143 1893). Other explorers visiting Pawnee villages mentioned by
144 Roper (1989) are Pedro Vial in 1804, 1805, and 1806 (Loomis &
145 Nasatir 1967), Major George Sibley in 1811 (Sibley 1927), and
146 Major Steven H. Long in 1819 (James 1823). Travellers like John
147 Irving visited the Pawnees in 1833 (Irving 1835). Missionaries
148 began arriving in 1834, who, like J.B. Dunbar, recorded and
149 contributed significant information on the Pawnees (Roper 1989).

150 Roper (1989:23) points out, however, that no specific date
151 can be given for the beginning of the historic period of Pawnee
152 history. Early accounts of contact with the Pawnees are either
153 vague or second-hand descriptions.

154 *Demography*

155 In an 1880 census, the Pawnees reported at an earlier period
156 in their history they had 5,000 people in each band, making a
157 total of 20,000 individuals (Grinnell 1889:236). This figure is
158 also supported in descriptions from French traders who frequented
159 Skidi villages along the Loup Fork in the period 1715-1725 (Hyde
160 1951:49). Various estimates of Pawnee population indicate a
161 population of between 10,000-12,000 people. However, these
162 figures are generally for the approximate time of the 1831-32
163 smallpox epidemic in which the Pawnees lost half of their
164 population. Wishart (1985:163) argues that the Pawnee population
165 was as large as 25,000 before the disastrous smallpox epidemic.
166 A larger population size would more accurately explain the
167 ability of the Pawnees to control such an extensive territory in
168 Nebraska and northern Kansas (Wishart 1985:163).

169 *Tribal Territory/Geography*

170 During their years in Nebraska and Kansas, the Pawnees made
171 use of a large area extending from the Niobrara River in northern
172 Nebraska southward into Kansas along the Cimarron River, and from
173 the Missouri River in the east westward "rather indefinitely"
174 toward the Rocky Mountains in Colorado (North 1961). However,
175 the core occupancy area lay around the Platte and Loup rivers in
176 Nebraska (Blaine 1990; Hyde 1951). Wishart (1979a:386) describes
177 the Pawnee hunting territory as extending from the lower reaches
178 of the Niobrara to the saline plains of the Kansas-Oklahoma
179 border, with the main hunting areas at the valleys of the upper
180 Republican, Arkansas, and Smoky Hill rivers. Blakeslee and O'Shea
181 (1983:97), in their report of an archeological survey of Lewis
182 and Clark Lake in northern Nebraska and southern South Dakota,
183 report that the Pawnees "traditionally claimed the southern bank
184 of the project area" (i.e., the right bank of the Missouri
185 River), primarily using the area for hunting expeditions and

186 raiding activities.

187 According to Hyde (1951), archeological evidence dates
188 Pawnee villages on the Loup Fork sometime in the early sixteenth
189 century. Hyde also reports several Pawnee village sites in
190 Nebraska, including a Chaui village site near a place called Lone
191 Tree (presently Central City), and another located at the present
192 site of Linwood in Butler County. Two Skidi sites on the north
193 bank of the Loup Fork near the present town of Fullerton are also
194 documented (Hyde 1951:74). Wedel (1939:29) describes an
195 archeological site south of the Platte near Linwood, where a
196 Pawnee village encompassed nearly forty acres and featured a
197 large enclosure, ninety feet in diameter, near the center of the
198 village which archeologists believe may have been an open-air
199 council ground or the remains of a huge, grass-thatched
200 ceremonial lodge.

201 While the core area along the Platte and Loup rivers was
202 exclusive to the Pawnees, according to Wishart (1979a:386) their
203 hunting territory was challenged by the Dakotas, Cheyennes, and
204 Arapahoes from the west and north, and by the Omahas, Kansas, and
205 Osages from the east and south.

206 *Subsistence and Division of Labor*

207
208 The territory inhabited by the Pawnees encompassed three
209 very different ecosystems consisting of tall-grass prairies,
210 river valleys, and mixed-grass plains. In this diverse setting
211 they practiced horticulture, hunting, and the gathering of wild
212 resources. Women and children were responsible for the
213 horticultural fieldwork, which involved the cultivation of maize,
214 beans, squash, and pumpkins. The Pawnees maintained a large
215 variety of these crops including seven varieties of pumpkins and
216 squash, eight varieties of beans, and ten or more of maize (White
217 1983). Maize was referred to as *atira*, "mother," and was
218 considered sacred, playing an essential role in both Pawnee
219 subsistence and ceremonial life (Chamberlain 1982:249).
220 According to Will and Hyde (1917), the Pawnees practiced more
221 ceremonial observances relating to maize and its cultivation than
222 any other tribe in the area. The gathering of wild plants
223 occupied a prominent role in Pawnee life, and although they did
224 not yield more food value than the cultivated crops or hunted
225 game, they did serve to complement both in the Pawnee diet (White
226 1983). A diversity of wild plants, such as milkweed, mushrooms,
227 wild cucumber, Indian potatoes (probably the most important),
228 along with other seeds, tubers, and fruits were gathered (White
229 1983). Wild plants were not only important for subsistence, but
230 they also played a prominent role in the ceremonial and medicinal
231 aspects of Pawnee life (Holder 1970; White 1983).

232 Pawnee men were responsible for hunting game, which also
233 played a sacred role in Pawnee ceremonial life (Chamberlain 1982;

Holder 1970; White 1983). In addition to hunting bison, their primary game, they also hunted deer, elk, beaver, and small mammals including raccoons, otters, and skunks (White 1983). White (1983) provides a detailed description of the Pawnee annual subsistence cycle, which he calls a "definite seasonal cycle." During April and May, crops were planted in fields adjacent to semipermanent villages and were subsequently hoed two times in the month of June, first early in the month and a second, later time before they left for the village's communal bison hunt. July and August were spent on the plains hunting bison. In September, they returned to their villages to begin harvesting. Typically around November, they left on a second communal migration to hunt bison. After obtaining a sufficient supply of meat to store for the winter, they camped along creek bottoms until March when they journeyed back to their earthlodge villages.

Technology

Pawnee technology is very similar to that of other bison-hunting, horticultural Plains tribes of the protohistoric and historic eras. Prehistorically and in the early historic period, ceramics were manufactured from clay. Pawnee ceramic types were distinct from other cultural groups, but similar to the pottery created by their linguistic kinfolk, the Arikaras (Grange 1968). In the historic period, ceramics were largely replaced by more durable metal Euroamerican trade goods (e.g., iron and brass kettles) obtained through the fur trade. The advent of the fur trade also brought about technological shifts related to hunting; the horse and gun replaced pedestrian hunting with the bow and arrow. Bison remained one of the most important sources of raw materials (hides, horns, sinew, and meat) for household and subsistence-related needs. However, with the material affluence derived from the fur trade, many "traditional" technologies were eventually rendered obsolete. For example, steel axes and knives reduced the need to fashion similar implements from stone, bone, or wood. Many traditional technologies and crafts persisted, necessitated by the unpredictability of gaining access to particular goods.

Diversions included the Buffalo Stick (hoop) Game, which expressed the relationship between the Pawnees and the buffalo, and the Basket Dice Game in which the moon symbolized a basket used by the mythological figure, Tirawahat ("father" or "god"), to send the stars to earth so that they could give knowledge to the people (Blaine 1990; Chamberlain 1982). The Hand Game was a gambling game, usually played by younger men (chiefs and priests did not play), in which two sides played against each other; one side held and hid sticks in their hands, while the other side guessed which hands held the sticks (Lesser 1933).

Settlement

282 The Pawnees lived in two types of dwellings depending on the
283 time of year: earth lodges and tipis. During the planting and
284 harvesting season they lived in semipermanent earthlodge
285 villages. The lodges were circular in plan view and were made
286 from a framework of timber posts supporting a covering of sod
287 (Chamberlain 1982; Grinnell 1889). The lodges were symbolically
288 constructed to represent a universe within a universe, with the
289 circular floor representing the earth, the dome-shaped roof
290 symbolizing the sky, and the entrance facing the rising sun
291 (Chamberlain 1982:155).

292 Archeological evidence indicates that Pawnee lodges had
293 circular floor plans from 25 to 50 feet in diameter with up to a
294 foot of top soil excavated to form the floor (Wedel 1986:160).
295 Earthlodge construction was primarily the responsibility of the
296 Pawnee women, and it was the woman to whom the house belonged
297 (Wedel 1986).

298 Pawnee villages were located in the river valleys of the
299 Loup, Platte, and Republican rivers in the present-day states of
300 Nebraska and Kansas. Villages were usually built at the edge of
301 the terraces overlooking the river and its floodplain (Roper
302 1989; White 1983). Village sizes in the nineteenth century
303 ranged from about 40 lodges with 830 people to about 180 lodges
304 with 3,500 people (Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983). Between 20 to 50
305 people usually occupied a lodge (Wedel 1979). Beyond the
306 villages, on the river bottoms, the Pawnees planted their fields.
307 Dunbar (1880[a or b?]) estimates a crop acreage of 1-3 acres per
308 family, with reports of crop harvests usually not exceeding 25 to
309 30 bushels per acre (Wedel 1986).

310 When the Pawnees migrated to the plains to hunt bison, they
311 resided in skin tipis. The tipi was made of dressed buffalo skins
312 sewn together and placed over a framework of 12 to 20 poles set
313 on the ground in a circle 12 to 17 feet in diameter (Dunbar
314 1880b; Grinnell 1889; Roper 1989). According to Roper (1989),
315 after leaving their villages to hunt, the Pawnees would travel
316 rapidly until they reached their hunting grounds, slowing only
317 when they encountered bison. Then the group would spend the
318 following weeks or even months in active hunting, conducting mass
319 kills using the surround. Camps were occupied for up to weeks at
320 a time, and temporary winter villages have been reported by Allis
321 (1918:698) to have been occupied for as long as 56 days.

322 *Travel and Transportation*

323 Before the introduction of the horse, the Pawnees travelled
324 by foot and the only domestic animal they possessed was the dog,
325 which served as a pack animal and occasionally as a source of
326 meat (White 1983). When the Pawnees departed on a hunt, the dogs
327 carried their necessities, each dog carrying a load between 35 and
328 50 pounds (Winship 1896:570-571). The Pawnees most likely

329 acquired the horse sometime in the late seventeenth to early
330 eighteenth centuries, after which time the dog remained a
331 secondary pack animal only (Blaine 1980; White 1983). The horse
332 was quickly assimilated and became a fundamental part of Pawnee
333 life. Osborn (1983:579) estimates that Pawnee horse herds ranged
334 in size from 7,865 to 10,530 animals under suitable conditions.
335 Horses served a dual role, as they were used as a "beast of
336 burden" during long journeys in search of bison and also ridden
337 for the chase once the bison were located (Roper 1989:1). Horses
338 were considered personal property and were not only used for the
339 hunt, but were given as gifts to priests and chiefs, and for
340 bride price (White 1983:180).

341 Horse stealing was a culturally accepted means of obtaining
342 status and wealth (Blaine 1990). Consequently, horses changed
343 hands frequently and were often lost shortly after they were
344 acquired. Tribes like the Comanches to the south of the Pawnees,
345 were targeted for horse raids, but the Pawnee villagers often
346 fell victim to raids of the more numerous nomadic Teton Dakotas
347 from the north (Blaine 1990; Hyde 1951). Frequent raiding by the
348 Teton Dakotas left the Pawnees impoverished and vulnerable to
349 subsequent attacks and long, cold winters without adequate stores
350 of meat and maize. The most infamous of the Teton attacks
351 occurred at "Massacre Canyon" in southwest Nebraska on August 5,
352 1873, when an overwhelming number of Brules and Oglalas came upon
353 a group of Pawnee hunters and their families. Over 100 Pawnees
354 were killed, wounded, raped, and mutilated (Blaine 1990:91)).
355 This event ultimately contributed to the demoralization of the
356 Pawnees, facilitating their acquiescence to move to Indian
357 Territory.

358 *Social Structure*

359 White (1983) describes Pawnee social structure as being
360 organized horizontally, or ranked, with wealth flowing upwards to
361 the elite families of the chiefs and priests. Below this group
362 was a somewhat larger group of families from which the braves
363 were chosen, and below these were the families of the commoners
364 which made up the majority of the village.

365 It was believed that the inhabitants of each village were
366 theoretically kin as each village traced its descent back through
367 the female line to a single ancestor (White 1983:175). The
368 Pawnees practiced matrilineal decent and matrilocal residency and
369 members were organized into large extended families. A man
370 married into a family; if the marriage broke up, he returned to
371 live in the lodge of his mother or a sister. A senior woman was
372 the center of the Pawnee family and a lodge consisted of that
373 woman, her husband, her unmarried children, her married daughters
374 and their husbands, sometimes her married sons, her grandchildren
375 and more distant kin (White 1983:175). According to White
376 (1983), the mother-child relationship was the foundation of the

377 whole kinship system.

378 According to Murdock (1967:14), polygyny (particularly
379 sororal) was commonly practiced among the Pawnees. However, co-
380 wives did not occupy the same household. Endogamy was practiced
381 within villages with the matrilineal kin group's core membership
382 usually confined to a single community (Murdock 1967:22).
383 Marriage between first cousins was prohibited, although second
384 cousin marriage was permitted (Murdock 1967:25).

385 *Economic Structure*

386 White (1983) also gives a picture of Pawnee economic
387 structure which was dependent on the upward flow of goods,
388 followed by redistribution. Within each village, goods were
389 channelled upwards to those who controlled and possessed
390 knowledge of the sacred bundles (see "Religion" below). Gifts
391 were given to priests and chiefs in exchange for this knowledge.
392 However, as this wealth flowed upward in the society it "paused
393 only briefly at the top" before it was redistributed among the
394 villagers (White 1983:176). This act served to insure the
395 chiefs' and priests' influence over the people, as "greed would
396 have violated the very code that assured [them] of [their] power"
397 (White 1983:176). Therefore, the survival and prosperity of the
398 village and the lives of the Pawnee people were intertwined as
399 the chiefs depended on the giving of the people, and in return
400 the people depended on redistribution by the chiefs (White 1983).

401 The Pawnees traded with the Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas
402 on the Upper Missouri, but the cardinal trading direction was to
403 the south where the villages of the Wichitas and other Caddoan
404 people were located (Wishart 1979:386). Wishart (1979a) reports
405 that trading activities typically took place in winter and summer
406 when small groups separated from the communal bison hunt.
407 Participation in the fur trade significantly altered the
408 traditional economy of the Pawnees (Wishart 1979a).

409 *Political Organization*

410 According to Wishart (1979a:383), each band was an
411 autonomous unit, but was bound together by the proximity of its
412 members and a common world view. Also according to Wishart
413 (1979a), bonds between the groups tightened only after pressures
414 of contact, war, and disease had decreased Pawnee population. As
415 villages were consolidated and bands were forced to merge, the
416 Pawnees began to perceive themselves as one people rather than
417 four separate bodies (Wishart 1979a:383).

418 The "Pawnee Confederacy" was organized into village-groups.
419 The Confederacy was united by a council which was composed of
420 head chiefs from the four councils of the Skidis, Chauis,
421 Kitkahahkis, and Pitahawiratas. Each band council was made up of

chiefs from the villages within that band, e.g., the Skidi band council was made up of chiefs from each Skidi village. Villages also had their own councils composed of chiefs and leading men from the village. The title of "chief" was hereditary, but characteristics such as bravery, wisdom, and personal popularity were important factors in obtaining influence and authority (Grinnell 1889; White 1983). Pawnee chiefs inherited their status from their fathers, and bundles were passed down through the male line with the priests serving a long apprenticeship to another priest (usually a kinsman). White (1983) makes a distinction between the actual kin group (matrilineal descent), and the fictional kin group. This can be seen in the language used in a council meeting where the chiefs were referred to as *a-ti-us*, "father," and the people as their "children."

Religion

Pawnee religion was closely associated with the perceptions of the universe and cosmic forces. The Pawnee term *Tirawahut* has often been translated as "heaven," "god," or "father," but a broader meaning encompasses the universe and everything within it (Blaine 1990; Chamberlain 1982; Hyde 1951). The Skidi Pawnees believed that they had originated from the sky, and that the stars were either gods or people who had once lived on earth and had been changed into stars at death (Chamberlain 1982:43). The most important stars were the Morning Star and Evening Star which were believed to be responsible for creating the first human being (Chamberlain 1982).

The sacred bundles of the Pawnee tribe played a vital role in their religion and ceremonies. The bundles were received through visions from particular stars, and each represented a certain star and had its own ritual, taboos, and sacrifices (Chamberlain 1982). The bundles were the very backbone of Pawnee life and served as the basis for production and social relations within the villages (Holder 1970; Will and Hyde 1917). According to Holder (1970:43), "the continuing life of the village was guaranteed by powers within the bundle..." The bundles consisted of hide envelopes containing various physical symbols which were removed and used in different ceremonies. The ceremonies were richly symbolic, began each year around the time of the spring equinox with the Thunder (also referred to as the creation or renewal) ceremony, and continued into autumn, being associated with such activities as planting, hunting, and harvesting (Chamberlain 1982; North 1961).

Removal to Indian Territory in 1874

After the Louisiana Purchase in the early nineteenth century when contact between the Pawnees and white settlers increased, the Pawnees began to be perceived as a menace as they passed through newly formed counties on their way to their treaty-

469 guaranteed hunting grounds. In the Treaty of Fort Atkinson of
470 1825, the Pawnees agreed not to attack white settlers and to
471 conduct trade only with the United States. In return the Pawnees
472 were promised protection: "the United States agrees to receive
473 the Pawnee tribe of Indians into their friendship, and under
474 their protection..." During this time, the Pawnees were under
475 continual attacks by the Teton Dakotas, and they also faced
476 hostility from white settlers who increasingly encroached upon
477 their lands. The United States failed to keep its promise of
478 protection; as a result, the Pawnees suffered greatly from
479 outside assault.

480 In the Treaty of 1833, the Pawnees ceded lands south of the
481 Platte River in return for \$1,600 in goods, and \$4,600 in
482 annuities each year for twelve years thereafter (North 1961). The
483 last of the Pawnees' lands were ceded in the Treaty of Table
484 Creek in 1857, and the Pawnees were put on a reservation of
485 285,440 acres along the Loup Fork 30 miles from east to west and
486 15 miles from north to south, including lands on both banks of
487 the river (in what is now Nance County, Nebraska) (Blaine 1990).
488 The tribe was to receive \$40,000 a year for five years, and after
489 that period of time, \$30,000 a year in perpetuity (Hyde 1951;
490 North 1961).

491 After the Pawnees were confined to a reservation, Federal
492 control began to alter their traditional ways, as Indian agents
493 took over decision making for the tribe, undermining the
494 authority of the tribal leaders (Blaine 1990). Confinement to
495 the reservation prevented the Pawnees from making their
496 traditional semi-annual migrations to their hunting grounds.
497 They could no longer visit ancestral graves near abandoned
498 villages, or take the Sacred Pipe to visit other tribes in order
499 to establish and maintain bonds between tribes (Blaine 1990:25).

500 According to Blaine (1990:93), the government ignored its
501 obligation to protect the Pawnees from Teton Dakota attacks
502 because they feared it would antagonize the Tetons and increase
503 retaliation. The Tetons were more numerous and dangerous than
504 the Pawnees, who were now a sedentary reservation tribe, so the
505 government confined the Pawnees to their reservation in order to
506 decrease military involvement in intertribal hostilities. As the
507 Pawnees were not able to pursue their attackers and retaliate
508 against them, they were left virtually defenseless. A Pawnee
509 term for the Lakota bands, which reflected their hostile
510 relationship, was *Tsu-ra-rat*, or Throat Cutters (Blaine
511 1990:101).

512 During their last years in Nebraska the Pawnees resided on a
513 reservation which represented only a small portion of the vast
514 country they had once claimed and used. As their subsistence
515 base failed and their poverty increased, they became dependent on
516 the annuities which they received for their land cessions (White

1983). The Pawnees called these last days the *we-tuks* years, or the frightful years, when life under federal control was constrained and difficult, and hunger and outsiders' hostility filled their days (Blaine 1990:xi). Pressure for removal began in 1867, and by 1870, new federal legislation cleared the way for Nebraska congressional representatives to abolish Pawnee title to their remaining territory in Nebraska (Blaine 1990; Hyde 1951).

Between the years of 1830-1875, the Pawnee population decreased from an estimated 10,000-12,000 individuals to a mere 2,276 as a result of epidemic disease, malnutrition, and Teton depredations (Blaine 1990:100). Faced with these overwhelming circumstances, the tribe became factionalized over the question of whether to leave their Nebraska homeland for Indian Territory, or to remain. Those who favored removal spoke of the conditions they faced if they remained in Nebraska--enemy attacks, continual hunger, and harassment and encroachment by settlers. They saw removal as the only long-term solution their problems.

Finally in 1874, the removal of the Pawnee tribe began. The Pawnees were led to believe that their new reservation would be located near their Wichita friends and relatives in Indian Territory, and that they would be able to hunt bison again, but this proved not so. Their reservation was far from the Wichitas, and the bison were too scarce to rely on as a source of food. Several accounts are given that indicate the reasons for the Pawnees' acceptance of removal (Svingen 1992). Wishart (1979a) believes the Pawnees agreed to move to Indian Territory as a way to preserve their cultural traditions. White (1983) argues that factors such as social, demographic, and ecological difficulties persuaded them to leave. Blaine focuses on the problems of starvation, reservation confinement, and harassment from white settlers: "perhaps the government did not force the Pawnee to leave, but it programmed the outcome by allowing devastating conditions to exist" (Blaine 1990:233).

Their Indian Territory reservation was established by Congress on April 10th, 1876 (Blaine 1990), and contained 283,019.98 acres of land. The boundaries lay south along the Red Fork or Cimarron River, with the northern edge marked by the Arkansas River and the Kansas border (Blaine 1990; Hyde 1951). The Pawnees arrived on their Oklahoma reservation suffering from chills and fever; their condition worsened after they found that no arrangements had been made to provide aid for food and shelter (Hyde 1951:261). In 1879, five years after arriving in Indian Territory, their population dropped to 1,440 people (Hyde 1951, North 1961). In 1882, rations were suddenly stopped in an attempt to introduce the Pawnees to cattle raising; as a result, nearly all of the stock were killed and eaten by the starving people (Hyde 1951). According to Hyde (1951), between the years 1874 and 1890, rations were stopped and resumed repeatedly, setting up a drastically fluctuating economic system. In 1905,

Pawnee population was reported to be as low as 646 (Hyde 1951; North 1961). These numbers reflect the continued, weakening effects of lack of food, clothing, and proper shelter.

The Pawnees' condition did not improve until 1933, when the Roosevelt administration began to provide funding for their assistance (Hyde 1951). After years of deteriorating living conditions, the Pawnee tribe has revitalized. Today, the tribe has a tribally-ratified constitution and is organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936. In agreement with their constitution of 1938, the tribe is governed by a business council, the Pawnee Business Committee, consisting of a president, secretary-treasurer, and five council members, all of whom are elected to a two-year term (Klein 1990; Confederation of American Indians 1986).

Recently in 1990, the Pawnees won a long-standing dispute with the Nebraska State Historical Society for the return of over 200 Pawnee human skeletal remains and associated funerary objects, which the Society possessed (Echo-Hawk 1989). The Pawnee skeletal remains represent spiritual and historical symbols to the Pawnee people (Riding In 1992), and the excavation of the Pawnee graves was viewed by them as not only shocking, but caused emotional trauma and spiritual distress as well (Echo-Hawk 1989). The well-publicized dispute led to the passage of the Unmarked Human Burial Sites and Skeletal Remains Protection Act by the Nebraska Unicameral in 1989 (Peregoy 1992). Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act shortly after, in 1990 (Svingen 1992). On September 10, 1990, the Pawnee people reclaimed the remains of more than four hundred of their ancestors from the Nebraska State Historical Society and transported them to Genoa, Nebraska for reburial (Svingen 1992).

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2 CHAPTER 14

3 ARIKARAS

4 By Michele Voeltz

5 *Introduction*

6 The Arikaras are an American Indian tribe whose ancestral
7 homeland is the Missouri River valley in North and South Dakota.
8 They were one of three semisedentary, horticultural, village
9 tribes that inhabited the valley at the time of first contact
10 with Europeans, which probably occurred at some undocumented date
11 in the first half of the eighteenth century. Today, their
12 descendants live on the Fort Berthold reservation in west-
13 central North Dakota, where they have amalgamated with the
14 descendants of two other Missouri River village tribes, the
15 Siouan-speaking Mandans and Hidatsas. Together, the three
16 combined peoples are called the Three Affiliated Tribes.

17 The Arikaras spoke a language belonging to the Caddoan
18 language family, and they are the northernmost of the Caddoan-
19 speaking tribes (Wedel 1955:77), which include the Pawnees of
20 Nebraska, the Wichitas of Kansas, the Caddos of Arkansas and
21 Missouri, and a few lesser-known and largely extinct tribes of
22 the Southern Plains region of the United States. Arikara
23 traditions suggest that they originally migrated from the south
24 or east (Dorsey 1904:12-40). Their closest linguistic and
25 cultural relatives are the Skidi band of Pawnees: "Virtually
26 every writer who has dealt with these tribes states that at one
27 time they were in close contact with, if not identical to, each
28 other" (Wood 1955:27). Wedel (1955:77), relying on an Omaha
29 legend stating that the Omahas found the Arikaras in northeastern
30 Nebraska and subsequently drove them northward, suggests that the
31 Skidi-Arikara split took place south or southeast of the Niobrara
32 River. A Pawnee tradition says that they drove the Arikaras from
33 a common settlement on the Platte River (Wood 1955:27). In
34 addition to sharing similar languages and a reputed common origin
35 in prehistoric times, the Arikaras and the Pawnees interacted
36 with one another during historical times through occasional
37 temporary visits. Some of the Arikaras, for example, are
38 reported to have taken up residence among the Pawnees, probably
39 along the Loup or Platte rivers in Nebraska, in 1795 (Wood
40 1955:28), but such visits did not typically last long.

41 *Culture*

42 The name Arikara means "horns" or "elk", probably referring
43 to an ancient method of hairdressing in which two pieces of bone

stood up from the head (Swanton 1952:273). The Arikaras' culture resembled the Skidis' in that both lived in earth lodges, grew crops of corn, beans, and squash, and hunted bison and other game (Wood 1955:27). Agriculture provided nearly half of the food supply, and agricultural products were important in trade (MacGowan 1942:94). They traded corn to nomadic groups for buffalo robes, skins and meat; and to Europeans for cloth, cooking utensils, guns, and other industrially-manufactured goods (Hodge 1912:85). Swanton suggests that the Arikaras first introduced other native groups on the Upper Missouri to agriculture (1952:275). The Omaha legend of meeting with the Arikaras in Nebraska credits them with teaching the Omahas to grow maize (Ludwickson et al. 1981:33; Fletcher and La Flesche 1992), although this story does not correspond with archeological evidence (Wood 1955:28).

Descent among the Arikaras was matrilineal:

Material considerations...suggest that villages consisted of matri-centered groups sharing common economic and ritual responsibilities with a circumscribed organization probably-based on residence and descent. (Hoffman 1977:22)

Hoffman describes each Arikara village as "a confederacy...of linked matriclans" (Hoffman 1977:26). Within recorded historic time, epidemics and wars apparently caused clans to break down and villages to coalesce for defense (Ludwickson et al. 1981:33). Tabeau recorded the presence of several dialects and competing chiefs within single villages, suggesting that they had formerly belonged to separate village groups (Tabeau 1939:124-7). Lewis and Clark recorded that the Arikaras were a "remnant" of ten powerful Pawnee tribes (Hodge 1912:86); while not entirely accurate, this statement may suggest that the Arikara villages dwindled in number through time.

According to Dorsey, the ceremonies of the Arikaras were similar to those of the Skidis, except for a creation story which differed from other Caddoan stories (1904:6). There was a ceremonial lodge in each village. Sacred ears of corn were preserved, along with skins of sacred birds and seven gourd rattles which symbolized the movements of the seasons (Hodge 1912:85). "Quasi-religious" gatherings were held in which conjuring tricks were performed (Hodge 1912:86).

History

The earliest map depiction of the Arikaras may be the label "PANA" that appears on the Marquette map of 1673-1674 (Tucker 1942:Plate V). However, the "Pana" are not shown along any waterway, though their proximity to the Missouri River may be inferred from the nearby label for the Omahas ("MAHA"), who are believed to have lived in the southwestern Minnesota-northwestern

90 Iowa region at that approximate time (Ludwickson et al. 1981:33;
91 O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992:17).

92 When the Arikaras first appear for certain in historical
93 documents, they are clearly located in central South Dakota. The
94 earliest map depiction of them, on the French 1718 Delisle map,
95 shows four villages of "Aricara" along the next northerly
96 tributary above the Big Sioux River, probably the James River
97 (Hartley 1983:1-49), and some distance (perhaps 100 miles,
98 according to Wood) from the Missouri. Forty villages of "Panis,"
99 a probable name for the Arikaras, are also shown on the Missouri
100 to the west, in a location that closely approximates their
101 historic homeland in central South Dakota (Wedel 1955:77; Wood
102 1955:33). The information contained on this map may have come
103 from the French officer, Etienne de Véniard, sieur de Bourgmont,
104 who in 1714 traveled up the Missouri as far as the mouth of the
105 Platte River and may have heard of the Arikaras living farther to
106 the north (Wedel 1955:77; Norall 1988:25), or it may have been
107 based on an earlier 1701 Delisle map that showed four villages of
108 "Panigoucha" in a similar location (Wood 1955:33-34).
109 Bourgmont's travel journal, his "Exact Description of Louisiana,"
110 mentions 42 Arikara villages located on the Missouri above either
111 the Niobrara or the White rivers (Wedel 1955:77; Norall 1988:109-
112 110). Bourgmont's description of the villages as being on the
113 Niobrara River may have been an error (Hartley 1983:1-49).
114 Another French document, from 1723, describes the Arikaras as
115 being located 10 leagues from the Omahas, presumably further up
116 the Missouri (Wedel 1955:77-78). The first recorded probable
117 contact between Euroamericans and the Arikaras occurred in 1743,
118 when two of the sons of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la
119 Vérendrye, visited a village of a people they called the *Gens de*
120 *la Petite Cerise*, or "People of the Little Cherry" (Wedel
121 1955:78; Smith 1980:112-113). The *Gens de la Petite Cerise* have
122 been identified as Arikaras (Smith 1980:121, 142-143). The
123 location of the Arikara village at the time of the visit by the
124 La Vérendryes is rather precisely known, as a lead tablet left by
125 the brothers was found in 1913 near the town of Fort Pierre,
126 South Dakota (Smith 1980:123-127). Smallpox subsequently forced
127 them upriver to the mouth of the Cheyenne (Hartley 1983:1-50).

128 In 1795 Trudeau found the Arikaras on the right bank of the
129 Missouri three miles below the mouth of the Cheyenne, having been
130 "reduced by smallpox from 32 villages and 'four thousand
131 warriors'...to two villages with about five hundred fighting men"
132 (Wedel 1955:79). From there they moved upriver to the Mandans'
133 area near the site of Fort Clark, North Dakota (Wedel 1955:79).
134 When Lewis and Clark visited the Arikaras in 1804 they had moved
135 downriver and were living between the Grand and Cannonball Rivers
136 (Swanton 1952:274).

137 In 1823, while living in two villages on the Missouri a
138 short distance above the mouth of the Grand River in north-

139 central South Dakota, the Arikaras attacked a north-bound party
140 of trappers, killing a number of them. The U.S. Army retaliated
141 with a punitive expedition which shelled the villages, forcing
142 the Arikaras to temporarily abandon their homes on the Missouri.
143 For about 15 years afterward, the Arikaras appear to have led a
144 restless and roving life, much of it away from the Missouri
145 River. The tribe--or portions of it--was variously reported in
146 the 1820s as relocating close to the Mandans in west-central
147 North Dakota (1823); killing several white trappers in the Platte
148 River valley (1824); and as again living at villages near the
149 mouth of the Grand River (1825-1832). About 100 Arikaras were
150 also reported to be encamped along the Arkansas River in eastern
151 Colorado in 1825 (Wood 1955:29; Wedel 1955:80), possibly the same
152 party that reputedly killed the white trappers on the Platte the
153 previous year.

154 Because of fear of Sioux attacks, expectation of punishment
155 from the United States, crop failure due to drought conditions,
156 and shortage of bison in their homeland (Wedel 1955:81), the
157 Arikaras moved south and between 1833 and 1835 they lived as
158 refugees among their Skidi Pawnee kinsmen on the Loup River,
159 possibly at the Palmer site in present-day Howard County,
160 Nebraska (Wood 1955:29-30). Though living as neighbors, tensions
161 occurred between the Arikaras and the Pawnees in Nebraska,
162 resulting in a decision by the Arikaras to return north; these
163 troubles are described in a recently published Arikara oral
164 tradition (Parks 1991, 3:363-365). After leaving the Pawnees,
165 the Arikaras are reported at various times in 1836 and 1837 as
166 being in the Black Hills, on the Little Missouri River, and in
167 the Turtle Mountains of northern North Dakota (Wood 1955:33).
168 During the winter of 1837-1838, they moved into the abandoned
169 Mandan village adjacent to Fort Clark in west-central North
170 Dakota, where they remained until 1861 (Wood 1993a:544). In
171 1862, they joined the Mandans and Hidatsas at Fort Berthold in
172 western North Dakota (Wedel 1955:81). A reservation for the
173 three tribes (now known as the Three Affiliated Tribes) at Fort
174 Berthold was set apart in 1880. The 1887 Dawes Act provided for
175 general allotment of reservation land, and the Arikaras became
176 United States citizens in 1900 (Hodge 1912:84).

177 *Connection with NIMI*

178 Several pieces of evidence link the Arikaras to the study
179 area. There is archeological evidence that the ancestors of the
180 Arikaras may have lived along the Missouri River portion of NIMI-
181 -particularly in Nebraska--in late prehistoric times. Ludwickson
182 et al. (1981:161-166) have identified the prehistoric St. Helena
183 Phase as part of the Basal Variant of the Coalescent Tradition,
184 dating between approximately AD 1250 and 1400. Numerous St.
185 Helena sites are present as small hamlets along the Missouri and
186 its tributary streams in Dixon and Cedar counties, Nebraska, with
187 a St. Helena component represented at the multi-component Gavins

Point site in South Dakota and a St. Helena site on Bazile Creek in Knox County, Nebraska, about eight to 10 miles from its mouth (Blakeslee 1988:1-7). The prehistoric Initial Coalescent Variant developed from the Basal Variant and to have lasted from about AD 1300 to 1550 (Ludwickson et al. 1981:166). The Initial Coalescent is believed to be ancestral to the people known historically as Arikaras (Lehmer 1971; Ludwickson et al. 1981:35). Initial Coalescent sites are found primarily in central South Dakota, but one large (ca. 300 acres) Initial Coalescent village, the Lynch site, is known to exist near the town of Lynch in Boyd County, Nebraska (Witty 1962; National Register of Historic Places nomination form).

On the historic time level, however, evidence for the presence of Arikara settlements within the NIMI area is not strong. Fletcher and La Fleshe (1992:75) mention Omaha and Ponca stories indicating that the Omahas discovered the Arikaras living on the west side of the Missouri River in northeastern Nebraska and subsequently drove them northward. Ludwickson et al. (1981:33) state that the 1673-1674 Marquette map locates them close to the Missouri River near the South Dakota/Nebraska/Iowa border region, but a specific Arikara presence within NIMI cannot be inferred. The 1718 Delisle map places them on the James River, which flows into the Missouri within NIMI; however, the Arikara villages appear to be well outside of the NIMI area (Wood 1955:35).

At least one historic-period archeological site close to NIMI contains pottery called Stanley Ware, a type attributed to the Arikaras: the Ponca Fort (25KX1), a fortified village site in Knox County (Wood 1955:36; 1993b:27-33). However, there is strong ethnohistorical evidence that the Ponca Fort site was a village of the Poncas (Wood 1993b:79-101). The Stanley Ware sherds found during excavations at the village are believed to have been made by Arikara women who married into the Poncas. This interpretation is bolstered by the discovery of two human skeletons at the site that appear to be females of Arikara affinity (Wood 1993b:68, 105). The Omaha legend cited above would place the Arikaras in the area, but there is no archeological evidence supporting it (Wood 1955:28).

Hartley, in his summary of the Arikaras' presence in the Norden Reservoir area, state that "enough historical data exist to suggest at least some utilization of the [Niobrara] area in the proto-historic and early historic period" (Hartley 1983:page 1-49). Early Ponca traditions relate stories of Ponca/Arikara hunting trips, which might have occurred along the Niobrara (Hartley 1983:page 1-50). In addition, the Arikaras may have passed through the area on their way to the Skidi Pawnee in 1833 (Hartley 1983:page 1-50).

In sum, current interpretations of archeological evidence

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CHAPTER 15

MANDANS

By Michele Voeltz

Introduction

The Mandans belong to the Siouan linguistic family. Together with their close neighbors and linguistic kinsmen, the Hidatsas, and the Caddoan-speaking Arikaras, they are one of the three semisedentary, horticultural village peoples who lived along the upper Missouri River valley in historic times. Their villages were long a center of trade with nomadic Indian groups of the Northern Plains. Their role as traders and their location on a great riverine artery of travel early attracted the interest of Euroamericans, and they were one of the first native peoples in the Northern Plains of the United States to be contacted by whites. Many Euroamericans visited their villages, including men of literary and artistic accomplishment, and the Mandans are one of the best-known native cultures of the Plains region as a result.

When first encountered by Euroamericans, the Mandans were living along the Missouri River in present-day North Dakota. However, their traditions speak of having moved to the Great Plains from the Eastern Woodlands, where they presumably separated from the Proto-Siouan linguistic family at an early date (Wood 1967:3). Archeological evidence suggests that they first arrived in the Missouri River valley between 1200 and 1300 A.D., or possibly earlier. Mandan traditions say that they reached the Missouri near the mouth of the White River, and settled in several places within South Dakota before finally moving to North Dakota (Swanton 1952:277). The descendants of the Mandans are now part of the Three Affiliated Tribes on the Fort Berthold Reservation in western North Dakota.

History

The French explorer and officer, the Sieur de la Vérendrye, found the Mandans living in several villages (approximately six) near the Missouri and the Heart Rivers in 1738 (Smith 1980:48-66, Stewart 1974:287-90). La Vérendrye's visit to the Mandans was the first recorded direct contact with them by Euroamericans. After 1772, according to Mandan traditions, a smallpox epidemic and attacks from the Teton Sioux forced them to move north, settling near the mouth of the Knife River by 1787 (Stewart 1974:29). In 1804 Lewis and Clark found two Mandan villages on the Missouri, a short distance downstream from the mouth of the

44 Knife River, with three Hidatsa villages nearby (Lehmer
45 1977:107). In 1837 a smallpox epidemic decimated the remainder
46 of the population, causing a 70% average mortality rate among the
47 Mandans, Arikaras, and Hidatsas, with the Mandans being the
48 heaviest sufferers (Lehmer 1977:107).

49 Between 1845 and 1858 the Mandans moved further north along
50 the Missouri with the Hidatsas (Hodge 1912:198), and by 1862 the
51 Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras lived in a single village, called
52 Like-a-Fishhook. In 1868 the United States established Fort
53 Stevenson 18 miles below the village, and the first Indian agency
54 for the combined Mandans-Hidatsas-Arikaras at Fort Berthold
55 (Bruner 1961:190).

56 The 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie set the boundaries for the
57 northwest tribes, including those at Fort Berthold; however, no
58 lands were included east of the Missouri River, where today most
59 of the Fort Berthold Reservation lies (Gilman and Schneider
60 1987:272). An executive order of April 12, 1870, established a
61 7,800,000-acre reservation for the Mandans, Hidatsas, and
62 Arikaras in North Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and
63 Little Missouri Rivers, but the reservation boundaries were
64 subsequently changed, with the result that the the present
65 boundaries--encompassing only about the third the size of the
66 original reservation--were established in 1891 (Gilman and
67 Schneider 1987:272-273). As a result of the General Allotment
68 Act of 1887 (also known as the Dawes Act), Fort Berthold
69 Reservation lands began to be formally allotted in 1894, thus
70 moving the people of the three tribes onto individually-owned
71 plots of land and ending a millenium-old village way of life in
72 the Northern Plains (Hodge 1912:798; Gilman and Schneider
73 1987:338-339).

74 *Culture and Lifeway*

75 When the Mandans first arrived in the Missouri River valley,
76 they were "a Siouan-speaking, semisedentary village tribe which
77 resided...in fortified circular earth lodge villages" (Wood
78 1967:9). By the time the equestrian nomads began moving into the
79 area, the Mandans were well settled in semisedentary villages.
80 They received the products of the nomadic life through trade, but
81 never adopted the Plains horse-centered nomadic lifestyle (Bruner
82 1961:204-5).

83 In historic times, three major dialectic groups were
84 detectable among the Mandans, perhaps suggesting that several
85 distinct groups had joined to create the Mandans, comprised of
86 Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awagixa subgroups (Bowers 1950:25). A
87 unified Mandan tribe may have been a late development. From
88 1250-1500 proto-Mandans occupied a large area within North and
89 South Dakota, "organized in terms of small village communitites
90 with a relatively low level of sociopolitical integration"

91 (Bruner 1961:192-3).

92 The Mandans cultivated maize, beans, gourds, and sunflowers
93 (Hodge 1912:798). They depended mainly on buffalo for meat,
94 hunting them near the villages and gathering drowned buffalos
95 after the spring breakup of the river ice (Will and Spinden
96 1906:120-1). The Mandans also hunted antelope, deer, elk,
97 waterfowl, grouse, and a variety of small game; and sometimes
98 made use of fish and shellfish. In addition, they gathered roots
99 and berries (Bruner 1961:194). A division of labor between men
100 and women existed in which women were responsible for
101 horticulture and domestic work, while men hunted, fought wars,
102 were responsible for ceremonial activity, made weapons, planted
103 tobacco, and helped harvest crops (Bruner 1961:219).

104 In technology, La Vérendrye was "struck by their [the
105 Mandans'] superior skill" and their acuity as traders with the
106 Assiniboin (Will and Spinden 1906:128; Smith 1980:56). They
107 made their tools from stone, bone, horn, flint, shell, or wood;
108 they made pottery, bows and arrows, and knives and spears. They
109 also possessed catlinite pipes, wicker, pottery, and ornamented
110 robes and headdresses (Bruner 1961:194, 202).

111 The Mandans' contact with other groups occurred mainly
112 through trade, trading garden surpluses for products of the
113 nomadic life. They associated most closely with the Hidatsas,
114 their combined villages constituting one of the primary native
115 trading centers on the Upper Missouri, although their languages
116 were mutually unintelligible (Ewers 1968:15). From the mid-
117 eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries, the Mandans also
118 traded with nearby Indian and European groups (Bruner 1961:197;
119 Ewers 1968:15-18; Wood and Thiessen 1985:4, 5). Their chief
120 enemies were the Dakotas, Cheyennes, and sometimes the Arikaras
121 (Will and Spinden 1906:122). Even when at war with a group,
122 however, peaceful trade relations could take place through the
123 device of adopting men from the other tribe as fictive sons of
124 Mandans. Creation of these fictive kinship ties allowed peaceful
125 trade to be conducted. Some Mandans also spoke many languages,
126 facilitating trade with many groups (Bruner 1961:197).

127 Edward M. Bruner remarked that "the social world of the
128 Mandan was a kinship world in which every individual was related
129 to every other" (Bruner 1961:222). Thirteen matrilineal,
130 exogamous clans existed, divided into two moieties (Bruner
131 1961:222). The divisions appear to be named after the former
132 villages (Swanton 1952:277). Within the matrilineal clans, the
133 women owned household and garden equipment, garden produces, the
134 game killed by men, dogs, mares, and colts. Men owned weapons,
135 stallions, and geldings. Agricultural land, the house, and the
136 sacred bundles belonged to the clan. Daughters inherited the
137 land and house from mothers, while sons inherited sacred bundles
138 from their mother's brothers (Bruner 1961:219-20).

Society was stratified based on the relative ceremonial importance of the clan bundles (Bowers 1950:31). The bundle-owners within the clans comprised each village's headmen, and one war chief and one peace chief were chosen from them (Bowers 1950:33-6). Tribal bundles were also the basis of ceremonial life. Each village had identical bundles, so that each village was an autonomous ceremonial unit (Bruner 1961:224). The turtle drums, considered the most sacred objects, symbolized unity among all the Mandans (Bowers 1950:36). Individuals could use the vision quest to acquire personal sacred bundles (Bruner 1961:223).

Mandan society was also divided into age-graded groups. George F. Will and Herbert J. Spinden (1906:130-131) name six men's groups, while Edward M. Bruner (1961:225) says there were four women's groups. A group of people of the proper age collectively "purchased" the group by buying its songs, symbols, and rituals from the former members. A fictitious kinship existed between the societies (Bruner 1961:225).

The Mandans held ceremonies according to a lunar calendar, while individuals could hold ceremonies at any time (Bruner 1961:224). The most important ceremony was the annual Okipa, described by George Catlin (Ewers 1967). The Okipa "was a dramatization of the creation of the earth, its people, plants, and animals, together with the struggles the Mandan endured to attain their present position." The ceremony used an ancient Nuptadi dialect, which only the ceremony's officers understood (Bowers 1950:111). The Okipa was meant to bring tribal well-being and buffalo fertility (Ewers 1967:39).

Since the severe decline in the Mandans' population in late historic times, "the culture has changed, the language has changed, and as a nation the Mandans are practically extinct" (Will and Spinden 1906:101). However, the Mandans made a deliberate attempt to keep their culture alive by adopting men into the tribe. They did not stop practicing the Okipa until 1889, and in 1953 Bruner found some individuals who still spoke the Mandan language (Bruner 1961:188).

Connection to the NIMI Region

In their review of ethnographic information pertaining to the 1978-designated Missouri National Recreational River, Ludwickson, Blakeslee, and O'Shea (1981:36-39) discuss the possibility of the prehistoric presence of the Mandans in the NIMI area. The prehistoric Mandans were culturally a part of an archeological culture known as the Middle Missouri Tradition (Wood 1967:113-14), early variants of which once existed in the NIMI area. However, the Middle Missouri Tradition is believed to have originated from a number of archeological complexes in the northwest Iowa, southwest Minnesota, eastern South Dakota region

perhaps as much as a millenium ago. A noted scholar of Mandan archeology and culture history, W. Raymond Wood (1967), has suggested that the historic Mandan tribe evolved from the prehistoric Extended Middle Missouri Variant, but does not believe there is sufficient evidence to link the historic Mandans with the Initial Middle Missouir Variant, a complex that is at least as old as the Extended Variant and possibly earlier. If early complexes believed to be ancestral to the Middle Missouri Tradition, such as the Mill Creek culture, evolved specifically into the Initial Variant, as has been suggested (see Toom 1992 for a review of this matter), then there is little reason to believe that proto-Mandans were present in the NIMI study area prehistorically. Ludwickson et al. (1981:39) conclude their discussion of Mandan connections with NIMI by stating that "no clear conclusions can be drawn regarding the relationship of the historic Mandan to the prehistoric archaeological assemblages in the project domain." The Mandans certainly did not live in the NIMI study area in historic times, and there is no unequivocal evidence that their forebears were present there prehistorically. The Mandans' tradition of residence at the mouth of the White River identifies their nearest (but still distant) historic location to the NIMI study area (Hewes 1948:50).

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CHAPTER 16

CHEYENNES

By Michelle L. Watson

Introduction

The first reference to the Cheyennes appears on a map by Louis Joliet and Jean-Baptiste Louis Franquelin, which appears to have been made before 1673 (Jablow 1994). On the map they are identified as *Chaïena*. This term has no apparent connection with the French word *Chien*, meaning "dog," which has been sometimes erroneously supposed (Hodge 1907:251).

It has been suggested that the Cheyennes, under the name of *Chaa*, circa 1680, visited La Salle's fort on the Illinois River near the present-day site of Peoria, Illinois, to invite the French to visit their country. However, La Salle does not identify the native group that called these Cheyennes the *Chaa*, as at that time the Cheyennes called themselves *Tsistsistas* (Jablow 1994).

Driven to the south and west during the seventeenth century, from their origins in the eastern woodlands of the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay area (Grinnell 1972, 1), the Cheyennes settled for a time on the Red River in North Dakota, and eventually reached the region near the head of the Cheyenne River in the Black Hills of South Dakota circa 1700 (Jablow 1994), where Lewis and Clark supposedly first made contact with them in 1804 (Gussow 1974).

According to Wood (1971), "A few whites had fleeting contact with them before 1800, but they left discouragingly fragmentary and conflicting references...there are no accounts...written by traders or others who actually lived among them, or who knew their ways or their history" (Wood 1971:51). Post 1800, however, there is much documentation on the Cheyennes (Hoebel 1977:28).

Anthropological Research

Some of the earliest published comprehensive sources on the Cheyennes were those of George Bird Grinnell. In 1923 his two-volume study, *The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life*, was published. Since that time, the Cheyennes have been one of the best documented and thoroughly studied Plains Indians groups (Hoebel 1977). The earliest sources of information include numerous journals of early traders and explorers, most of which are not directly cited in this chapter as the Cheyennes had

no direct relationship to north central Nebraska. A classic study of the Cheyennes is titled *The Cheyennes: Indians of the Great Plains* (1960) by E. Adamson Hoebel. Another classic study of the Cheyennes is Joseph Jablow's *The Cheyenne In Plains Indian Trade Relations 1795-1840* originally published in 1951 and reprinted in 1994.

Cultural and Linguistic Affiliations

The Cheyennes are part of the Algonquian family of languages shared among the Algonquins, Arapahos, Crees, Chippewas (Ojibwas), Blackfeet, Ottawas, Sacs and Foxes, Potawatomis, Mohegans, Delawares, Shawnees, Sutaio, and others (Powell 1980). The close historic alliance between the Sutaio, also spelled (Suhtai, Sotaeo, Sutai, Sutasina, Sutayo, Suti), and the Cheyennes, or *Tsistsistas*, suggests that the two were related bands, each speaking different, but intelligible dialects of the Algonquian language. Native oral tradition suggests that the Sutaio were historically at war with the Cheyennes. The two, however, formed an alliance sometime after 1850 and the Sutaio were gradually and completely absorbed into Cheyenne culture (Hodge 1907:660). The exact origin of the Sutaio remains unknown, as does the meaning of their name (Grinnell 1972, 1).

The name Cheyennes is derived from the Sioux name *Sha-hi'yena*, *Shai-ena*, or (Teton) *Shai-ela*, meaning "people of alien speech." The Cheyennes, however, called themselves *Tsistsistas* (Jablow 1994). Another spelling is *Dzi'tsiistas*, roughly meaning "people alike" or "our people" (Hodge 1907:250). For a more detailed discussion of how the Cheyennes named themselves, and were named by others, see Hodge (1907), Swanton (1952:278), and Grinnell (1966; 1972, 1).

Historic Occupations

Over a period of some three hundred years, the Cheyennes experienced distinct transitions in their modes of subsistence as they ventured westward from their original homeland in the woodlands of Minnesota (Jablow 1994). After leaving the woodlands, they ventured across the prairies and high plains beyond the Missouri River, and were finally located on reservation lands, the northern Cheyennes in Montana, and the southern Cheyennes in Oklahoma (Grinnell 1972, 1).

Native oral tradition and the written record suggest that the Cheyennes originated in an area of Minnesota bounded by the Mississippi, Minnesota, and upper Red rivers (Swanton 1952:260), or possibly further to the east (Grinnell 1972, 1). By the latter quarter of the seventeenth century they were located in western Wisconsin and southeastern Minnesota where they established semi-sedentary, horticultural villages (Wood 1971). A short time later, Sioux oral tradition locates them near the

87 Minnesota and the Yellow Medicine rivers in southwestern
88 Minnesota (Powell 1980), where "they began to adopt a...type of
89 existence based on equestrian buffalo hunting and trading in the
90 Great Plains" (Wood 1971:51). According to Gussow (1974), citing
91 from Grinnell (1923), "Following their transition from a semi-
92 horticultural to an equestrian nomadic life...they continued to
93 plant some vegetable food, along with tobacco, until as late as
94 1865" (Gussow 1974:37).

95 Moving further westward, by the beginning of the eighteenth
96 century they were located on the Cheyenne and Missouri rivers in
97 North Dakota (Hartley 1983). According to Wood (1971), the
98 Cheyennes transformed more rapidly from their woodland origins to
99 being Plains dwellers than any other Native American Indian group
100 who came to be known as "Plains Indians" (Wood 1971:51).

101 The Cheyennes made their first treaty with the United States
102 Government in 1825 at the mouth of Bad River near present-day
103 Pierre, South Dakota. This treaty resulted in a split:

104 ...a large part of the tribe decided to move down and
105 make permanent headquarters on the Arkansas, while the
106 rest continued to rove about the headwaters of North
107 Platte and Yellowstone rs. This separation was made
108 permanent by the treaty of Fr Laramie in 1851, the two
109 sections being now known respectively as Southern and
110 Northern Cheyenne, but the distinction is purely
111 geographic, although it has served to hasten the
112 destruction of their former compact tribal
113 organization. (Hodge 1907:252)

114 The two continued to maintain family ties but remained hundreds
115 of miles apart (Svingen 1993).

116 The Cheyennes occupied the high plains west and southwest of
117 the Missouri River until they completely entered reservation life
118 in the late nineteenth century. The southern Cheyennes were
119 located on the Arapaho and Cheyenne Reservation in Oklahoma and
120 the northern Cheyennes located on the Tongue River Reservation in
121 Montana. In 1910 the Cheyennes numbered 3,055, and in 1930 they
122 numbered 2,695 (Lowie 1963:12). The total for northern Cheyennes
123 in 1985 was 5,042, and the southern Cheyenne population for the
124 same year was 5,729 (Moore 1987:324). The World Book
125 Encyclopedia (1994) gives numbers of 2,700 for the northern
126 Cheyennes of Montana, and 2,200 for the southern Cheyennes of
127 Oklahoma (Fetzer 1994).

128 *Aboriginal Culture, Subsistence, and Social Organization*

129 While the Cheyennes occupied fixed villages in Minnesota and
130 on the Missouri River, they were agriculturalists who made
131 pottery. On the Plains, however, their subsistence economy

became transformed; they hunted bison and moved about, rather than settling in fixed villages and practicing agriculture. Women continued to gather roots and vegetables utilizing a digging stick called a "dibble." There were two kinds of dibbles, one was used to push under desired roots, and the other had sharp curved ends like a crowbar which could be used to dig roots out of the ground (Hoebel 1960).

The horse was very important for subsistence and trade. The Cheyennes occasionally ventured into the Spanish settlements of Mexico and the southwest to acquire horses, or they raided them from or traded with other tribes such as the Pawnees and the Comanches (Jablow 1994).

Before the split of the Cheyennes into the northern and the southern branches, they governed themselves under the old system of "Council of Forty-Four," made up of four principal elected chiefs from any of the bands, and some four elected leaders from each of the bands (Hodge 1907; Gussow 1974). There were also six military societies (Fox Soldiers, Elk Soldiers, Shield Soldiers, Bowstring Soldiers, Dog Men, and Northern Crazy Dogs), to which membership was voluntary and ungraded (i.e., the societies were open to men of all ages). These societies administered law among their people (Llewellyn and Hoebel 1967).

The social organization of the Cheyennes began at the family level. They practiced patrilineal descent and matrilineal post-marital residence patterns, polygamy being allowed (Hodge 1907; Gussow 1974). The families were grouped into bands of extended family members with no formal chief, but rather informal leaders. It is not known how many bands among the Cheyennes historically existed, but it is estimated at ten (Gussow 1974). The primary societies of the Cheyennes were six military societies that cross-cut band affiliation to organize and regulate important male activities such as the bison hunt, protection, and war (Gussow 1974). For more information on Cheyenne kinship patterns see Eggan (1967).

For descriptions of sacred Cheyenne ceremonies see Powell (1969), and for descriptions of the ceremonial sun dance among the Cheyennes see Dorsey (1905), and Timber and Liberty (1972). For descriptions of Cheyenne music see Densmore (1936).

The Cheyenne connection to the NIMI region

"The Cheyennes had no direct relationship to north-central Nebraska during the early part of the nineteenth century" (Hartley 1983:54-55). According to Howard (1965), "In 1859 the Ponca attempted to make their customary spring and summer hunt, but encountered a combined party of Brulé, Oglala, and Cheyennes at the headwaters of the Elkhorn River" (Howard 1965:31). Their attack was supposedly induced by a recent treaty with the U.S.

178 government by the Ponca tribe.

179 Thus, the Cheyennes probably only utilized the river valleys
180 of north central and northeastern Nebraska for either shelter or
181 temporary subsistence, sometimes warring with other groups over
182 limited resources.

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44 Finally the division between Northern and Southern Arapahos
45 became permanent, although they maintain group solidarity.

46 The 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie assigned to the Arapahos and
47 Cheyennes the area from the North Platte River to the Arkansas,
48 and east of the Rocky Mountains through Colorado into western
49 Kansas, including parts of Nebraska and Wyoming; an area of
50 122,000 square miles. The treaty was soon broken, however, as
51 the 1858 Pike's Peak gold rush drew whites into the area on
52 trails that cut through Indian territory (Bass 1966:xiii). The
53 1860s were years of calamity for the Northern Arapahos, and in
54 1868 they were offered a place with the Southern Arapahos, but
55 refused. Finally in 1877, 938 Arapahos, of whom only 198 were
56 men, moved to the southeast portion of the Shoshone Wind River
57 Reservation (Elkin 1963:229). The reservation "lies in the heart
58 of an attractive and rich country to the east of the Continental
59 Divide in western Wyoming (Elkin 1963:230).

60 In 1867 the Treaty of Medicine Lodge placed the Southern
61 Arapahos on a reservation with the Cheyennes (Swanton 1952:385).
62 The reservation lies between the Canadian and Red Rivers in
63 Oklahoma. In 1887 the General Allotment Act allotted quarter-
64 sections to remaining members of the tribe, and 4.5 million acres
65 were bought for \$1.25 per acre and opened to white settlers (Bass
66 1966:xv). Today, the Southern Arapahos are known as the
67 Cheyenne-Arapaho Business Committee of Concho, Oklahoma; and the
68 Northern Arapahos are the Arapahoe Business Council of Fort
69 Washakie, Wyoming.

70 *Culture and Lifeway*

71 The Arapahos' tradition says that while in Minnesota, they
72 lived in settled communities and practiced both agriculture and
73 hunting (Elkin 1963:207). After moving onto the plains, the
74 Arapahos lost "all trace of a previous culture with the exception
75 of their religion," adopting instead a typical plains economy and
76 culture (Trenholm 1970:13). Before the advent of the horse, the
77 Arapahos killed buffalo by stampeding them over cliffs and
78 gathered vegetables and wild fruits, drying them for the winter.
79 Transportation of goods was by dog-drawn travois or by the
80 strength of women and girls (Trenholm 1970:12).

81 After their introduction, horses became the center of the
82 economy, acquired through warfare and taming. Buffalo was the
83 mainstay, while elk, antelope, and deer were of secondary
84 importance (Elkin 1963:208). An economic division of labor
85 existed in which men hunted game, took care of horses, and made
86 saddles, weapons, and ceremonial objects; while women took care
87 of domestic duties and manufactures, gathered roots and berries,
88 cooked, worked hides, constructed tipis, and made clothing and
89 leather products (Elkin 1963:208-9).

90 The Arapahos' most sacred object is the Flat-Pipe, the
91 Earthmaker or Creator (Trenholm 1970:3). According to Henry
92 Elkin, the Arapahos say that

93 "Without the pipe there would be no Arapaho," and "It is the
94 pipe that holds us together." If the pipe were not properly
95 cared for the well-being of the tribe would suffer" (Elkin
96 1963:217).

97 Next in importance to the pipe is the sacred Wheel (Hehotti),
98 decorated in typical Plains style with the colors of the Sundance
99 and the thunderbird (Trenholm 1970:55-6). The Northern Arapahos,
100 considered the "nucleus or mother tribe," hold the sacred tribal
101 articles (Hodge 1912:72).

102 Before the Arapahos separated into northern and southern
103 branches, they were divided into four bands: Long Leg or
104 Antelope (from which the principal chief was chosen), Greasy
105 Face, Quick-To-Anger, and Beaver. Membership was determined by
106 birth but was flexible, as people could move in with friends or
107 relatives of another band (Trenholm 1970:52). The band names
108 frequently changed, however (Gussow 1974:20). Eight age-graded
109 associations also existed. Membership in the two oldest
110 societies required supernatural power as well as the requisite
111 age. The societies provided a chieftainship structure: chiefs
112 were drawn from each group, while four tribal chiefs were at the
113 top of the scale (Gussow 1974:21).

114 For ceremonial purposes, the Arapahos formed a camp circle,
115 each band comprising a segment with an opening to the east.
116 Inside the circle a tipi housed the Flat-Pipe (Trenholm 1970:54).
117 Inside the circle, the Arapahos held the principal ceremony of
118 the sun dance, the *bayaawu*, or lodge-dance ceremonies, and the
119 men's and women's societies' dances (Elkin 1963:217). The
120 Arapahos also participated in the ghost dance religion (Hodge
121 1912:73). The vision quest was sometimes used, but was far less
122 important to the Arapahos than to other Plains groups (Elkin
123 1963:218). The Arapahos had no coming of age or puberty
124 ceremonies, other than birth and naming feasts (Trenholm 1970:59;
125 Eggan 1955:62-3).

126 Marriage occurred by the honorable method of purchase, or by
127 elopement. The woman's brother or mother's brother negotiated
128 for marriage, while the woman had the power to refuse a suitor
129 but usually didn't (Eggan 1955:59-61). Residence was matrilineal
130 and polygyny was practiced (Eggan 1955:61).

131 *Connection to the NIMI Region*

132 There is little information concerning the Arapaho presence
133 in the NIMI area. First, there is the Arapaho tradition that
134 they moved from Minnesota southwest across the Missouri River

135 (Hodge 1912:72), perhaps placing them in or near the study area.
136 Ralph J. Hartley summarizes the Arapaho presence in the area:

137 The Arapahoe and Crow, while living in and around the Black
138 Hills may also have had limited contact with the Niobrara
139 area. In 1804 Lewis and Clark were told the Arapahoe roamed
140 from the headwaters of the north and Middle Loup to the
141 Black Hills...They were taking a small part in trade on the
142 Upper Missouri with the Cheyenne in 1803-05. (Hartley
143 1983:1-54)

144 They also note that a Cheyenne party along with the Teton Sioux
145 and "a few Arapahoe" attacked a Ponca party near the headwaters
146 of the Elkhorn River in 1858 (Hartley 1983:1-55), showing that
147 parties including the Arapahoe were near the NIMI area at that
148 time. There are no documented or traditionally-known Arapaho
149 village sites in the NIMI study area.

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CHAPTER 18

Comanches

By Michelle L. Watson

Contact and Anthropological Research

Early contact with the Comanches is revealed through early travelers' journals and native oral tradition. The Shoshoni-Comanche supposedly originated in an area of southern and western Nevada. By 1500, they had reached Wyoming, and by 1700, using horses obtained by the Spanish of New Mexico, they had reached the far north Plains of Saskatchewan. It is after 1700 that they made their presence in the Black Hills and the westernmost portion of Nebraska (Hewes 1948:54).

The name "Comanche" first appeared shortly after 1700 in Spanish records from New Mexico (Jones 1972:5). It is reported that it was the Utes who introduced the Comanches to the Spanish in the Southwest-Plains border region. In 1724, a group called the "Paduca," were visited by sieur de Bourgemont at their village in present central Kansas, some thirty miles southwest of Salina Kansas. According to Secoy (1951), this "Padouca Nation" visited by Bourgemont in Kansas were "almost certainly Comanche" (Secoy 1951:538), despite the fact that throughout his Padouca Expedition, he referred to them as the Plains Apaches (Norall 1988). According to Secoy (1951), it had been the French traders and explorers, and the Louisiana colonials who had given these Indians the name Plains Apaches (Secoy 1951:527). Noyes (1993) adds,

Before 1750 the Caddoan tribes living on the eastern fringe of the southern plains, and the French traders among them, referred to the Plains apaches as the "Padouca." After the middle eighteenth century, when Comanches had replaced Apaches on the plains, the Caddoans and French applied the name to the Kiowa Apaches, a small tribe of Athapascans closely associated with the Kiowas, and also known as "gattakas." To complicate matters further, some Anglo-Americans after about 1800 began calling the Comanches "Padoucas." As a result certain American historians seem to have assumed, understandably, that the Comanches were identical with those original "Padoucas" who had dominated the southern plains from well before the time of Coronado's expedition. (Noyes 1993:xvi)

Administratively speaking, Comanche-U.S. government relations began in 1872 through the Kiowa Agency (Foster 1991). It wasn't until 1933, however, that the first extensive, systematic ethnographic studies were conducted on the Comanches. This research was conducted under the auspices of an Ethnological Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology. Notable contributions were made by members Ralph Linton and E. Adamson Hoebel (Jones 1972). From this research, the book titled *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* was published in 1952 under the authorship of Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel. It continues to serve as a primary source of information about the Comanches. The most recent history of the Comanches, and a most scholarly piece of work, is a 1993 book by Stanley Noyes, titled *Los Comanches: The Horse People, 1751-1845*.

Cultural and Linguistic Affiliations

Both linguistically and culturally, the Comanches originated from Numic-speaking populations, often broadly referred to as Shoshonean culture. The Comanche Indians derive from the Uto-Aztecan language family which is divided into three branches: Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean branch is further divided into three linguistic subdivisions, one of which is the Shoshone-Comanche-Koso (Panamint) and includes the Comanches, among others. Linguistically, the Comanche and Shoshone languages are mutually intelligible, "both tribes speaking practically the same dialect" (Hodge 1912:327).

In naming, the Comanches call themselves "numina", meaning "The People" (Foster 1991:58). The word "Comanche" was a name applied by the Utes to many Plains Indian groups including the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Kiowas, but it was the Spanish who are credited as being the only consistent users of the Shoshonean term "Comanche" throughout the 1700s. Thus, it is inferred that it was the Spaniards of New Mexico who gave them the name (Opler 1943; Wallace and Hoebel 1952). The name "Comanche" may be translated as "enemy," "my adversary," and "anyone who wants to fight me all the time." The designation for Comanche Indians in the sign language "is a backward, wriggling motion of the index finger, signifying a snake...indicating the silent stealth of that tribe" (Newcomb 1961:155). For a look at Comanche synonymy see (Swanton 1952:312-313).

Historically, they have also been named "Padouca," but there is controversy as to who the "Padouca" really were (Grinnell 1920). Depending upon who was writing about the "Padouca," in what geographical region they were writing, and in what specific historical time period they were writing, the name has variously referred to the Comanches, Plains Apaches, and Kiowa-Apaches. One investigator who has systematically reviewed the usages of the term "Padouca" concludes:

The name "Paduca" does not appear in the original uninfluenced Spanish sources at all...It appears in the French colonial sources prior to 1750, applied to the Apache and after 1750, applied to the Comanche...The 19th century Americans did not use it in a consistent fashion; but varied its meaning depending on the specific sources of information by which the individual writers happened to be influenced. (Secoy 1951:540)

According to Secoy (1951), the "Padouca Nation" visited by Bourgemont in Kansas in 1724 were "almost certainly Comanche" (Secoy 1951:538), despite the fact that throughout his Padouca Expedition, he referred to them as the Plains Apaches (Norall 1988). Secoy (1951), however, is criticized by W.R. Wedel (1959) for ethnohistorical inadequacies (Wedel and DeMallie 1980:120).

Historic Occupations

Based on early travel journals, the Comanches occupied a vast area of land in the southern Plains (Wallace and Hoebel 1952). The Comanches probably originated in the vicinity of southwestern Montana and northwestern Wyoming (Hultkrantz 1968:60; Jones 1972:6). Migrating southward, they expanded onto the Plains circa 1725, and by the early nineteenth century they had moved into areas of present-day southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas (Jones 1972). According to Foster (1991), however, the Comanches originated in the Great Basin area of present-day Nevada, Utah, and Idaho, moving later onto the Plains of present-day Wyoming and Montana, and eventually moved into areas of present-day Colorado and New Mexico (Foster 1991). Their origin cannot be pinpointed, but there is consensus in the oral and written traditions that the Comanches migrated southward onto the southern Plains after their split from the Shoshones.

It can only be inferred when and why the Comanches split from the Shoshones. Some Comanche oral traditions suggest that this split occurred on Fountain Creek north of Pueblo, Colorado, when unreconcilable disputes between them could not be resolved (Wallace and Hoebel 1952).

Other oral traditions suggest that the advance of and incursion by other American Indian groups into the Plains persuaded the Comanches to proceed elsewhere into areas where they could continue to practice their traditional modes of existence. A significant component of their pre-reservation Plains economy was the horse (Foster 1991). It allowed them to more efficiently continue their buffalo-based economy on the open southern Plains, where "the Comanches...were dependent almost entirely on the buffalo herds for a livelihood" (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:21).

136 Thus, during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth
137 centuries, oral and written traditions, as well as the
138 archaeological record, locate the Comanches throughout the
139 southern Plains, including a brief presence in Nebraska. By
140 1836, the Comanches claimed and occupied a vast area of land in
141 the southern Plains bounded on the north by the Arkansas River.
142 The establishment of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservations
143 in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) in 1867, however,
144 imposed a sedentary lifestyle on these previously nomadic
145 peoples. Some bands did settle, while others continued to roam
146 throughout the southern Plains until 1875 when they surrendered
147 to the United States militia at Fort Sill near the Wichita
148 Mountains in present-day southwestern Oklahoma (Wallace and
149 Hoebel 1952; Foster 1991). Today the Comanches are located on a
150 Federal Indian Reservation due west of Lawton, Oklahoma.

151 *Aboriginal Culture*

152 *(Social, Political and Economic Organization)*

153 The Comanches were organized into what may be explained as
154 five differing levels of social units: family, band, division,
155 focused-activity group, and the entire Comanche community (Foster
156 1991:58-59). Family units, comprised of extended family
157 relatives residing in the same camp, grouped into patrilocal band
158 units, each under a specific leader. Bands who exploited the
159 same territory were then grouped together into division units.
160 These various smaller social units occasionally amalgamated into
161 larger units to conduct specific activities such as the buffalo
162 hunt. Finally, the largest social unit, the entire Comanche
163 community, shares a common bond of identity and affinity (Foster
164 1991).

165 The various bands found no political significance in the use
166 of the terms "tribe," "clan," or "military society." Each band
167 did, however, have a peace chief, "although this position was not
168 formalized" (Bailey 1980:156). Sociologically, however, they
169 held a common bond of identity and affinity. "The first time the
170 bands with all their men, women, and children came together was
171 in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the
172 first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874" (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:22).
173 According to Eggan (1966), the Comanches, as well as other Plains
174 tribes, had political organization that reflected the habits of
175 the bison. They could not be politically or socially too large,
176 as it was necessary for them to be disbursed across the grass
177 lands in smaller bands in order to make the best use of the
178 bison, upon which they were dependent (Eggan 1966).

179 Each band was comprised of one or several extended family
180 groupings, each operating autonomously, except in time of a
181 focused group activity such as bison hunting. Traditionally they
182 had a patriarchal social organization, and allowed for

183 unrestricted movement in and out of the various bands. Marriages
184 often occurred within bands, occasionally occurring between them
185 to expand alliances. Post-marital residence was patrilocal.

186 Five age-grades were recognized among the Comanches: baby,
187 child, adolescent, adult, and elder. Politically, each band had
188 a chief, several peace chiefs, and an advisory council of elders.
189 Culturally, the various bands could be slightly distinguished by
190 variations in habits, customs, and institutions.

191 The Comanches are considered typical Plains Indians
192 characterized by the "horse-buffalo-tipi complex." Some oral
193 traditions, like those of the Poncas, even credit the Comanches
194 for introducing the horse to the Plains (Wallace and Hoebel
195 1952).

196 Subsistence activities centered primarily around large game
197 such as buffalo, bear, and elk. A variety of plants were also
198 gathered: fruits, vegetables, berries, cacti, and roots. Their
199 diet also consisted of curdled milk "taken from the stomachs of
200 suckling fawns and buffalo calves" (Noyes 1993:263).

201 It is not known how many different Comanche bands existed
202 historically. According to Hodge (1912), there have been twelve
203 recognized bands or divisions, all but five being virtually
204 extinct (Hodge 1912:328). According to some anthropologists,
205 however, there were thirteen (Lowie 1963:92). Regardless of how
206 many bands actually existed historically, "during the nineteenth
207 century there were five outstanding divisions, the others being
208 small or transitory groupings" (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:25).

209 Their population in the mid-nineteenth century was estimated
210 at some 20,000 (Wallace and Hoebel 1952). The 1990 Census
211 estimated the Comanche population at 11,322. There are only some
212 twenty other American Indian groups that exceed the Comanche
213 population today.

214 *The Comanche connection to the NIMI region*

215 According to Wallace and Hoebel (1952), the Comanche band
216 that is known to have been in Nebraska was the "Yap-eaters,"
217 termed so because of their diet of Yap, a potato-like root.
218 Other researchers spell this "yampa" (Hultkrantz 1968:54).

219 As the band closest to the Shoshones, and as the band
220 that clung to Shoshone food-getting habits, digging for
221 roots, they were probably the last of the Comanche
222 bands to break off. (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:27)

223 Comanche oral tradition suggests that this band located in the
224 Rocky Mountains circa 1700, and made raids far north into
225 present-day Kansas and Nebraska. As interpreted from the

226 ethnographic literature and the archaeological record, "When they
227 lived in the forks of the Dismal River and in Nebraska, they
228 engaged in incessant warfare with the Pawnees, their neighbors on
229 the east" (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:285). They also engaged in
230 warfare with the Ponca (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911). These
231 Comanches, however, who were present within or near NIMI circa
232 1790, were referred to as the Apaches or the Padouca, and not as
233 the Comanches.

234 According to Schlesier (1972), the Apaches were present at
235 the Ponca Fort within NIMI in the latter eighteenth century:

236 ...in the 1790's the Ponca fought no less than four
237 times with them over the possession of Nanza, the Ponca
238 Fort...an historic Ponca earth lodge village on the
239 Missouri River in northeastern Nebraska...which the
240 Apache attempted to take over four times during the
241 absence of the Ponca. (Schlesier 1972:107)

242 According to Howard (1970), however, these Plains Indians
243 were the "Padouca" who were warring with the Ponca over
244 possession of the Fort, and not the Apaches. Secoy (1951)
245 somewhat supports this conclusion when he stated that the Plains
246 Apaches were out of the region by 1750 (Secoy 1951:538), and
247 thus, the Ponca could not have been warring with them in the
248 1790s in the region. In fact,

249 The Dorsey map...does not show the Ponca Fort, but at
250 two locations on the middle Fork of the Loup there are
251 names referring to ..."Padouca earth fort"...Fletcher
252 and La Flesche give "Where the Padouca built
253 breastworks" as the Omaha name for the Dismal River.
254 (Howard 1970:126)

255 Wood (1993), suggests the Ponca were defending the Fort from
256 the Comanches, and makes no mention of either the "Padouca" or
257 the Apaches (Wood 1993:102).

258 According to Fletcher and La Flesche (1911), Ponca oral
259 tradition refers to numerous meetings with the "Padouca" on the
260 Plains in the latter eighteenth century:

261 ...near the Missouri river...on one of their hunts they
262 encountered the Padouca. (Fletcher and La Flesche
263 1911:79)

264 According to O'Shea and Ludwickson (1992), the Omahas as
265 well were engaged in war in the 1770s and 1780s with a tribe
266 named the "Padoucas" in the region. They conclude, however,

267 ...By this date, the name Padouca certainly referred to
268 Comanches, although earlier it referred to Plains

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CHAPTER 19

THE PLAINS APACHES

By Michelle L. Watson

Introduction and Historic Occupations

The Plains Apaches, also called "Apache Vaqueros" or "Eastern" Apaches, inhabited an area of several hundred miles east and north of Spanish New Mexico (Mayhall 1962:5). They are first mentioned by "Onate in 1598, although Coronado, in 1541, met the Querechos (the Vaqueros of Benavides, and probably the Jicarillas and Mescaleros of modern times) on the plains of E. N. Mex. and W. Tex.; but there is no evidence that the Apache reached so far W. as Arizona until after the middle of the 16th century" (Hodge 1907:63). The Plains Apaches then appear in the journals of La Salle in 1682 when he was exploring the Mississippi River. He was informed of tribes that lived far to the west and recorded them as the Gattackas and the Padoucas.

According to Hartley (1983), "The Plains Apache inhabited portions of the Nebraska Sandhills from approximately A.D. 1675 to 1741" (Hartley 1983:51). They were located at the headwaters of the Loup River system and along the Dismal River (Gunnerson 1960), and are considered numerically "the strongest of the Plains Athapaskans who ranged from eastern New Mexico through eastern Colorado, Wyoming and southwestern South Dakota down into western Nebraska" (Hartley 1983:51). To see their general locations circa 1700 see the maps of Terrell (1975:16-17), and Schlesier 1972:103). It is believed that by 1750 the Plains Apaches no longer occupied any part of the central Plains, as they had been replaced by the Comanches (Secoy 1951).

It is believed, based upon the archaeological record, linguistic studies, and other evidence, that the Plains Apaches were Athapaskan hunting bands who moved onto the open Plains of the Canadian province of Alberta from origins in Alaska (Kehoe 1992). Some of these Athapaskan tribes and bands continued their southward migration along the high plains somewhere east of the Rocky Mountains into Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, new Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas and elsewhere (Terrell 1975:13; Lockwood 1987).

Other interpretations, however, suggest that the Apaches drifted north from eastern New Mexico and far west Texas (Hewes 1948:56). "The fact is, no scholar has been able to trace satisfactorily the exact origins of this spectacular people or to

88 The "Navajos were those Apaches who befriended the Pueblos,
89 and with whom the Pueblo refugees found safety after the 1680
90 Pueblo Rebellion" (Hester 1971; Kehoe 1992:147). These Navajos
91 were eventually absorbed into Pueblo culture, taking up an
92 agrarian based economy that was supplemented by sheepherding and
93 raiding. They did not call themselves "Navajo," but rather they
94 called themselves Dine, which means something equivalent to
95 "people." "This word, in various forms, is used as a tribal name
96 by nearly every people of the Athapaskan stock" (Hodge 1907:41).
97 According to Terrell (1975), it was the Spanish who called these
98 Dine the Apaches, because of their linguistic and cultural
99 affinity to the Inde, who were Apaches. In 1907, some fifty-one
100 Navajo clans had been identified, some being already extinct
101 (Hodge 1907). To meet the requirements of this present study, it
102 will not be necessary to discuss the Navajos further.

103 The second Athapaskan tribe that has been identified as
104 having inhabited the central and southern Plains are the Apaches.
105 Of the some twenty-two Apache tribes and bands that have been
106 identified across the northern, central and southern Plains, only
107 two have been identified with western and southern Nebraska, the
108 Gattackas and the Padoucas (Terrell 1975:13).

109 The Apaches did not call themselves Apaches, but rather they
110 called themselves (N'de, Tinde, and Inde), all which mean
111 something equivalent to "the people." The name Apache originated
112 from Apachu, signifying "enemy," and has historically been
113 applied to many tribes of the Athapaskan linguistic family, as
114 well as to some unrelated tribes such as the Apache Mohave and
115 the Apache Yuma, members of the Yuma linguistic family (Hodge
116 1907:63; 1910:1010). The name Apache was used by the Zuni to
117 refer to the Navajo, "who were designated "Apaches de Nabaju" by
118 the early Spaniards of New Mexico" (Hodge 1907:63). Historically,
119 the Spanish have identified the Plains Apaches by the name
120 "Llanero" which means "people of the plains," a term used
121 apparently to distinguish the Apaches from the Navajos.

122 According to Hodge (1907), the Kiowa Apaches have been
123 mistakenly referred to as Plains Apaches, arising from the fact
124 of their Athapaskan affinity (Hodge 1907). He concluded that
125 they were a small detached Athapaskan band of the Apaches of
126 Arizona who had no political connection with the Apache proper,
127 and are closely related to the Kiowa in everything but language.
128 The Kiowa Apaches have been associated with the Kiowa from the
129 earliest traditional period, and formed a component part of the
130 Kiowa tribal circle (Hodge 1907:701).

131 The Kiowa Apaches identified themselves as Lipans and went
132 by the name Naichan (also Naizhan) (Terrell 1975). Their
133 identity as the Gattacka comes from their being called the
134 "Gattacka" by the Pawnees at the time La Salle was journeying
135 throughout the Plains circa 1682 (Hodge 1907:701), and by the

French and the Caddoans after the mid eighteenth century when the Comanches had replaced Apaches on the Plains (Noyes 1993). According to Hartley (1983), the Gattackas (also Dismal River proper, and "Northern Aspect of Plains Apaches"), with the Kiowas, occupied Nebraska territory north of the Padoucas several decades prior to 1750 (Hartley 1983). The two groups supposedly joined as allies and became known as the Kiowa-Apaches after their numbers were greatly diminished (Secoy 1951:541; Schlesier 1972; Terrell 1975:18). If this is the case, that the Plains Apaches and the Kiowa Apaches did join as allies, there is much evidence to suggest that the Kiowa-Apaches were present in the NIMI study area prior to 1800 (Hartley 1983:54). Thus, having implications for the presence of the Plains Apaches within and near the NIMI study area. See Mooney (1979:245) for a Kiowa Apache synonymy.

Historically, the French have identified the Apaches by the name "Padouca" (Hartley 1983:51). There is much controversy, however, as to who the "Padouca" (also Paduca and Padonka) really were (Grinnell 1920). The name has been variously applied to the Plains Apaches, the Kiowa-Apaches, and the Comanches (Secoy 1951:541; Noyes 1993:xvi) (a discussion of the Comanche-Padouca connection can be found in the specific chapter on the Comanches).

The French apparently applied the name "Padouca" to the Plains Apaches prior to 1750, a name applied to the Sand Hills Plains Apaches by the Ponca and the Omaha (Schlesier 1972:107; Hartley 1983). It first appears on a Franquelin map of Louisiana of 1684: "...there is a "Riviere des Parouke" which seems likely to be a variant of "Padouca"" (Secoy 1951:525). The Padoucas are also identified on an early map of J.O. Dorsey's (n.d.): At two locations on the Middle Loup River in north central Nebraska, they are referred to as "Pádonka" (also Padouca). Secoy (1951), concluded that the name "Padouca" applied to the Apaches prior to 1750 and to the Comanches after 1750, and that the nineteenth century Americans never used the term in a consistent fashion (Secoy 1951:541). A further discussion of the Apache, Gattacka (Cataka), and Padouca distinctions can be found in Anonymous (1974).

Archaeological evidence does suggest that Athapaskan Plains Apaches (being also referred to as the Gattackas and the Pacoucas) carried the culture of the Dismal River Aspect throughout an area that encompasses part of present-day southwestern South Dakota and western Nebraska (Schlesier 1972:101), thus, having implications for their presence within the NIMI study area.

Aboriginal Culture and Subsistence

The Sandhills Plains Apaches participated in subsistence

183 strategies that were centered around hunting and gathering, as
184 well as farming (Schlesier 1972; Gunnerson 1968). "Plains
185 Apaches ranged widely according to the season on hunting,
186 gathering, raiding, and trading expeditions" (Gunnerson and
187 Gunnerson 1971:7). The bison was very important to the Apaches
188 as their main source of food, clothing, and shelter. When it was
189 exterminated they turned to deer, antelope, elk, rabbit, dog, and
190 birds. Women dug roots and gathered berries, which were placed
191 in wooden, horn, or hide receptacles (McAllister 1935).

192 The Apaches lived in thatch huts sometimes called wickiups
193 which were "easily erected by the women and were well adapted to
194 their arid environment and constant shifting" (Hodge 1907:66).
195 Women engaged in highly skilled basketry making and mask painting
196 for ritual dances. They also prepared their girls for the Nai'es
197 ceremony, where the girl was transformed into a woman at first
198 menses (Kehoe 1992:148).

199 The Apaches were divided into many clans which took their
200 names from their natural surroundings of their localities. They
201 were not totemic and never took their names from animals (Hodge
202 1907:66).

203 *The Apache connection to the NIMI region*

204 It was between 1675 and 1741, that the Plains Apaches
205 inhabited portions of the Nebraska Sandhills. Being identified
206 on a map of J.O. Dorsey's (n.d.), they were located at the
207 headwaters of the Loup River system and along the Dismal River
208 (Gunnerson 1960), and referred to as "Padonka" or Padouca.
209 According to Secoy (1951), the Apaches were present on the
210 central and southern Plains until circa 1720 when the Comanches
211 took full possession (Secoy 1951:538). According to Hartley
212 (1983), if the Plains Apaches and the Kiowa Apaches did in fact
213 join as allies under the name Kiowa-Apaches in the eighteenth
214 century, after their numbers were greatly diminished, there is
215 much evidence to suggest that the Plains Apaches (being referred
216 to as the Kiowa-Apaches, Gattacka, or Padouca) were present in
217 the NIMI study area prior to 1800 (Hartley 1983). They had been
218 identified at the headwaters of the Niobrara under the name
219 Cataka (Gattacka), near the headwaters of the Cheyenne River,
220 near a lake at Schlagel Creek in Cherry County, Nebraska, and
221 elsewhere in South Dakota and Nebraska (Hartley 1983:53-54).
222 They are considered "numerically the strongest of the Plains
223 Athapaskans who ranged across the central and southern Plains
224 (Hartley 1983:51).

225 It also remains somewhat disputed as to which American
226 Indians were warring with the Ponca over possession of the Nanza,
227 the Ponca Fort on the Missouri River in northeastern Nebraska in
228 the latter eighteenth century. According to Schlesier (1972), it
229 was the Plains Apaches who were warring with the Poncas

(Schlesier 1972:107). Other evidence, however, suggests that it could not have been the Apaches as their presence in the NIMI study area occurred prior to the 1780s and the 1790s, a time when the Comanches had full possession of the central Plains (Howard 1970:126; Wood 1993:102; Secoy 1951; Noyes 1993). According to Hartley (1983), as interpreted from Abel (1921), "In 1796 Trudeau reported...remnants of the northern Plains Apache...located on the banks of the North Platte River" (Hartley 1983:53), suggesting their move out of the Sandhills of Nebraska to the south by the latter eighteenth century.

The establishment of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservations in 1867 in present-day Oklahoma imposed a sedentary lifestyle on these previously nomadic peoples. Today, some Apaches are located on the Kiowa, Apache, and Fort Still Apache Federal Indian Reservations in Oklahoma. However, "Of some forty thousand Apaches in the 1980s, over half did not live on Apache reservations" (Kehoe 1992:149), but have become assimilated into American society where traditional Apache values and beliefs are no longer practiced.

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CHAPTER 20

GERMANS

By Michelle Watson

Introduction

The latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed a massive immigration into the United States of ethnic Germans from a number of European nations. These immigrants were motivated by religious, political and economic reasons. Study of German immigration as a single, unified phenomenon is difficult for several reasons. First, German immigration to the United States occurred over a broad period of time, during which the intensity of the influx varied considerably. Second, many German immigrants who emigrated from nations other than Germany (e.g., Austria, Switzerland, Poland, Russia) were not ethnically identified as "German" in their new homelands, thus resulting in inaccuracies in the reporting and the recording of census data (Rife 1980). Third, there exists a lack of uniformity of information, style, and format in the different United States census reports and publications (Hawgood 1970:59). And fourth, many Germans did not document their ethnic background and historical heritage as well as perhaps the Germans from Russia, who have a well constructed and documented history of their heritage both in Europe and in the United States (Frederick C. Luebke, Department of History, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, personal communication, 1993). In order to create a clear and precise picture of the diverse German settlements within or near NIMI, a precinct-by-precinct census analysis would need to be performed, an undertaking beyond the scope of the present study.

Nevertheless, thousands of Germans immigrated to the United States between the mid-seventeenth century and World War I (Hawgood 1970; Berthoff 1971:47), constituting the second largest immigrant population in the United States (second only to the English) (Hawgood 1970:59; U.S. Department of the Interior [USDI] 1993:104). The phenomenon of "mass migration" from Germany to the United States began in 1846 (Furer 1973:33). Over 70 percent of Germany's total emigration to the United States occurred between the 1840s and 1889 (Hawgood 1970:57-58). Among these immigrants were Germans of numerous faiths: Quakers or Amish, Mennonites, Hutterites, Catholics, Lutherans, *Schwenkfelders*, and Baptists or Dunkards (from the German *eintunken*, "to dunk or immerse") (Ripley 1976). *Schwenkfelders* were a communal Germanic people who followed the religious teachings of Karl von

Schwenkfeld. *Schwenkfelders* from Silesia settled in Pennsylvania in 1734, but their religion disappeared in the early twentieth century.

There were at least five major causes of massive German immigration prior to the twentieth century, which dispersed Germans from their central European homeland to other nations of Europe and eventually to America: 1) the Protestant Reformation (circa 1519-1619); 2) the Thirty Years War (1618-1648); 3) the Seven Year's War (1756-1763); 4) the Napoleonic Wars (post 1783); and 5) the 1848 revolutions in Vienna, Milan, Rome, Berlin, and Warsaw.

The reasons for emigration from eighteenth-century Germany were primarily religious, whereas the primary reasons for emigration from Germany after 1850 were economic and agricultural (Rippley 1976:29). Patterns of inheritance in Germany had dwindled farms to small plots, making the support of a family difficult as crop failures, largely due to potato famines, spread throughout Europe. In response to increasing pressures for emigration from Europe, the governments of various German states, working with the United States government, set up commissions to work directly with immigration agents in the Plains states, where land for the largely agrarian immigrants abounded (Rippley 1976).

Emigration was further facilitated after these agreements by 1) advances in the technology of travel to and within the United States; 2) laws like those enacted by the New York State Legislature in 1847 that protected the lives and property of immigrants (Kucera 1967); 3) the Homestead Act of 1862 that offered abundant, affordable, arable land (Berthoff 1971:306); 4) incentives for settlement offered by railroad companies, banks, travel agencies, and state-operated immigration bureaus (Rippley 1976:72-73); and 5) promotional efforts put forth by the first established bureau of immigration in Dakota Territory (Richter 1980:189). The publication of immigrants' guides, such as *Outlines of the History of the Territory of Dakota* and *Emigrant's Guide to the Free Lands of the Northwest*, also helped spur German immigration into the Plains (Hammer 1980:298).

German immigration to North America began well before the American Revolution. The first German immigrants to what is now the United States settled with Dutch immigrants in the colony of New Amsterdam, subsequently named New York (Rippley 1976:24). Germantown, Pennsylvania, however, became the first completely German colony in the United States when a religious group of pietists (Quakers and Mennonites) emigrated from Krefeld, Germany, and settled in Germantown in 1683 (Dyck 1967; Rife 1980:1-2). Thousands of German immigrants followed for more than two centuries as political, economic, and religious turmoil mounted in Europe and Russia, and the frontier in the United States expanded westward offering what these immigrants desired

most (i.e., abundant and affordable land, opportunity, and freedom) (Rippley 1976).

In tracing German immigration throughout the United States, one might distinguish Germans from Germany, Germans from various other countries of Europe, Germans from Russia, and Germans from the United States (i.e., those descended from German-born immigrants in the eastern states), although these distinctions are not always easily made. Further division can be made by religious affiliation. Germans in general constitute the largest ethnic population in both South Dakota and Nebraska in the late-nineteenth century (USDI 1993:104).

Germans from Russia

Among the first Germans to immigrate in large, cohesive groups, and establish themselves within NIMI, were Germans from Russia (Ostergren 1983:69). These immigrants referred to themselves as either *unser leute* ("our people"), or *Russlaender* ("people of Russia") (Pfeiffer 1970). They were those Germans who had lived in the steppes of Russia (primarily the Black Sea and Volga regions of the Ukraine) for several generations beginning in 1763, and who began immigrating to South Dakota in 1873 when their special status in Russia was no longer permitted. It is estimated that some 120,000 Germans from Russia immigrated to the United States between 1872 and 1920 (Rippley 1976:173). Of these, about 20,000 were Mennonites and Hutterites who immigrated in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, largely to the plains and prairies of South Dakota, Kansas, North Dakota, Minnesota, and Canada (Rippley 1976). The Hutterites and the Mennonites were not the only German groups to immigrate from the Russian Ukraine; there were large groups of Protestant and Catholic Black Sea and Volga Germans who made settlements in Nebraska and South Dakota as well.

History

Thousands of Germans emigrated to Russia between 1764 and 1767 and established several hundred German agricultural villages along the banks of the Volga River, the Black Sea, and elsewhere (Giesinger 1974). These German immigrants became colonizers with special rights and privileges granted them under the Manifesto of 1763 (Koch 1977:12-17), instituted by Tsarina Catherine the Great, and the Colonization Law of 1764 (Dyck 1967; Unruh 1972:11-12; Giesinger 1974). While in the Ukraine, all Germans, including the Mennonites and the Hutterites, were granted complete religious freedom, tax exemptions, free trade practice, control of educational practices, exemption from military duty, and were provided land to cultivate (Stumpp 1978). They thus prospered and regained much of their material wealth and personal privileges lost through economic hardship and persecution in their homeland.

Over the course of the ensuing years, many more migrations of Germans to Russia followed. Their journey and stay in Russia, however, were not without pain and hardship. Ships wrecked on the Baltic Sea, wagons broke down overland, and immigrants found inadequate provisions and shelter upon arrival. The first winters took a deadly toll and they suffered further under attacks by nomadic Mongol tribes in the east (Giesinger 1974). In 1796, however, they were provided better care, provisions, and protection under Tsar Paul I, son of Catherine the Great, thus becoming very successful agriculturalists once again (Giesinger 1974). Through it all they retained much of their ethnic sense of identity as Germans.

However, even with renewed prosperity in Russia, the centuries of impoverishment, struggle, and persecution in Europe led them to take advantage of the opening up of the United States for immigration (Dyck 1967:145). The new policy of forced "Russification," instituted in 1871 and including all of Russia, required military conscription which prompted the emigration of many, beginning in 1873. Volga Germans and Black Sea Germans (particularly the pacifist Mennonites and Hutterites) began to emigrate, some going to South America and Canada. The largest number went to the United States, where they settled primarily in Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota (Dyck 1967), in distinct, isolated, homogeneous, religious communities in order to continue their agrarian style of living. Through their religious beliefs and practices they preserved their cultural heritage and values (Richter 1991:155).

Protestant Black Sea Germans

The first Germans from Russia to arrive in 1873 were Protestant Black Sea Germans who settled southeast of the present-day town of Scotland in Bon Homme County, South Dakota. This was known as the "Odessa settlement" because these immigrants were from the large harbor and merchant city of Odessa on the Black Sea in Russia (Sallet 1974:23). The first Odessa church was built in 1876. Prior to the establishment of this church, these immigrants gathered in homes to conduct Sunday services. Other settlements sprang up around the "Odessa Settlement," with names familiar to the newcomers: Worms was west of the Odessa settlement, Petersburg was northwest of Worms, and Friedenstal was north of Petersburg (Bischoff 1981:189).

Continued immigration expanded their settlements to include the towns of Menno and Freeman in 1874. Other settlements included Danzig near Avon, one in the vicinity of Tripp (established 1877), a settlement southwest of Parkston (also founded in 1877), a settlement north of Delmont (1880), and Fairfax in Gregory County (1890), each being settled by Germans from different areas of the Black Sea region (Pfeiffer 1970; Sallet 1974). Within the space of only a few years, Germans from

188 Russia took up virtually all of the homestead lands in Yankton
189 and Bon Homme counties (Sallet 1974:24). After the Rosebud
190 Indian Reservation lands were opened for settlement, immigrants
191 established settlements at Herrick, Gregory, Dallas, and Carlock
192 in Gregory County after 1905.

193 The first settlements in Nebraska by Protestant Black Sea
194 Germans were in the southern part of the state. However, in
195 1892, they made settlements near Butte and Naper in Boyd County
196 (Sallet 1974:29).

197 Additionally, Germans from Russia, along with English,
198 Danish Germans, and Czechs, settled in an area known as "Sunshine
199 Bottoms," also in Boyd County, between 1890-1893, when treaties
200 with the Ponca and Sioux Indians opened up land for Anglo-
201 European settlement:

202 A group of these "Odessa Germans" crossed the Missouri
203 into Boyd County and settled close together at the base
204 of and atop the bluffs adjacent to Sunshine Bottom...
205 representing a majority of settlers along the Bottom
206 itself. (Murphy n.d.:3)

207 The Germans from Russia established themselves in a specific area
208 known as "Poor Man's Bottom" within the general Sunshine Bottoms
209 settlement. It was in this area that the first post office,
210 named Walther, was established and a sod parsonage as well. The
211 post office was named after Ferdinand Walther, an Evangelical
212 Lutheran pastor who also made trips to Butte, Germantown,
213 Fairfax, Bonesteel, and Basin to conduct services (Murphy n.d.;
214 Butte Diamond Jubilee Committee 1965:17). Later, additional
215 churches were erected, as well as a school, stores, etc.
216 Sunshine Bottom was also an important shipping point for
217 steamboat traffic:

218 The Sunshine Bottom was proximal to the Missouri River and
219 became important as a local shipping center until steamboats
220 were replaced by railroads in the early 1900's. Tower,
221 Nebraska...and Anderson's Landing (on Sunshine Bottom) were
222 important locations at the turn of the century, but have
223 since disappeared. (D.R. Henning 1975:2)

224 Tower, located eight miles north of Lynch, was so named
225 because of an iron post marking "the northeast boundary of the
226 old Fort Randall Military Reserve. Anderson's Landing...was
227 comprised of a wood store, shipping pens for livestock and a
228 small granary" (D.R. Henning 1975:12). Neither Tower nor
229 Anderson's Landing exist today (D.R. Henning 1975:12).

230 The last German colonists left the Sunshine Bottom
231 settlement in 1907 primarily as a result of drought, floods,
232 locoweed problems, population density, and religious

heterogeneity (Murphy n.d.:13). Though the community was relatively short-lived, the social life at "Sunshine Bottoms" was diverse, including dances, debates, chautauquas, medicine shows, work bees, luncheons, education, and games.

The cultural influence of these Germans from Russia was evidenced in the architecture that persisted in this settlement until it was abandoned. This influence persists even today, as several structures extant in the Sunshine Bottom area are unique relics of the former German settlement (Murphy n.d.; Steve Holen, University of Nebraska State Museum, personal communication, 1994). Evidence of historic structures and other sites that remain from the Sunshine Bottom community include chalkstone houses, sod houses, dugouts, stables, a wood granary, cemeteries, churches, and marked and unmarked graves, all of which date to the period between 1890 and 1905 (O'Shea 1975; D.D. Henning 1975). Inventoried in 1975 during planning for a proposed Nebraska Public Power District pumped power storage project (O'Shea 1975; D.D. Henning 1975), many of these structures and features were noted as being in poor condition, abandoned, subject to eventual inundation by reservoirs, or deteriorating from natural causes. Some of them, however, were found to be in good condition and were still being utilized for agricultural storage purposes, while others had been moved out of the Sunshine Bottom area and preserved elsewhere.

Catholic Black Sea Germans

Some of the first Catholic Black Sea Germans to arrive within the NIMI region settled with Protestant Black Sea Germans already established in the area (Sallet 1974:35). Several families settled in Yankton in 1875, later moving to Freeman, South Dakota, while other groups arrived in 1882 and settled in Scotland, South Dakota. Over a period of time, however, they became less comfortable with their neighboring Protestant Black Sea Germans and consequently moved into northern South Dakota and North Dakota.

No Catholic Black Sea German settlements were located in Nebraska near NIMI.

Protestant Volga Germans

The evangelical Volga Germans who settled in Nebraska were located primarily in the southern and eastern parts of the state. A few of these colonists, however, settled at Valentine in 1892 (Sallet 1974:44). There is no documentation that Protestant Volga Germans settled within NIMI on the South Dakota side.

Catholic Volga Germans

There were apparently no settlements made by Catholic Volga

277 Germans within the NIMI region (Sallet 1974).

278 Mennonite Germans from Russia

279 The Mennonite Germans from Russia who emigrated to Nebraska
280 settled primarily in the southeastern part of the state (e.g.,
281 York and Hamilton counties) (Toews 1975:137), while Mennonite
282 newcomers to South Dakota in the 1870s and 1880s settled
283 primarily in Turner and Hutchinson counties, approximately 30
284 miles from the town of Yankton (Toews 1975:141). The Mennonites,
285 thus, are generally not located close to NIMI. There is,
286 however, a Mennonite church, the Friedensberg Bible Church,
287 located in Avon, Bon Homme County (Janet Shoemaker, Mennonite
288 Historical Library, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, personal
289 communication, 1993).

290 Hutterite Germans from Russia

291 The Hutterites, however, have a marked historical and
292 contemporary presence within the NIMI study region. Hutterites
293 settle in communal agrarian colonies. The first Hutterite colony
294 in the United States, the Bon Homme Colony in Bon Homme County,
295 South Dakota, was established in 1874. There are presently 52
296 Hutterite colonies located throughout South Dakota. Five of
297 these are within or close to NIMI (Satterlee 1993).

298 Mennonites and Hutterites share a common Anabaptist ancestry
299 and differ in their basic beliefs in primarily one way (Hostetler
300 1963; Hofer 1974:48); the Hutterites are distinct from the
301 Anabaptist Mennonites and the Protestant and Catholic churches in
302 their practice of communal living (Satterlee 1993:1). The
303 Hutterites derive their name from Jacob Hutter and the Mennonites
304 take their name from Menno Simons, early leaders of these sects
305 (Giesinger 1974:30; Toews 1975:10). The Mennonites, like the
306 Hutterites, are directed by principles of nonresistance,
307 avoidance, and nonconformity. Unlike the Hutterites, Mennonites
308 no longer speak German (Toews 1975:323) and they seek converts
309 through both evangelical and missionary efforts.

310 See the "Hutterites" section of this report for a fuller
311 description of Hutterite history and lifeways.

312 Summary

313 Overall, the religious convictions of German immigrants were
314 of primary importance in retaining and preserving their ethnic
315 heritage, language, values, and sense of group identity. Their
316 settlements in the Ukraine were geographically, linguistically,
317 and religiously factionalized; thus, many of their settlements in
318 the plains states were also independent, usually isolated, and
319 religiously homogeneous. Marriages generally did not cross
320 religious lines, even between communities of the same practicing

321 faith, which caused animosity among them (Welsch 1976:197-198;
322 Richter 1980). Within the NIMI region today the Hutterites, who
323 live in religiously homogeneous colonies, are most representative
324 of this phenomenon (Jim Satterlee, South Dakota State University,
325 personal communication, 1993). Nevertheless, in the words of
326 Robert C. Ostergren (1983:71):

327 More than any other group, the German-Russians successfully
328 transplanted the culture, social organization, and
329 agricultural practices they had known in the homeland.

330 In regard to their clothing, they were known for their
331 Russian lamb coats and their warm hats which were drawn over
332 their ears (Bischoff 1981:193).

333 Architecturally, these immigrants became skilled at
334 utilizing resources indigenous to the lands they inhabited. On
335 the Plains, they erected buildings out of sod, stone, clay, and
336 Basta bricks, utilizing whatever resources were at hand. The
337 Basta bricks were unique, being made of a composite of water,
338 straw, clay and manure. They were pressed out of wooden molds
339 and served as very sturdy and durable building materials (Upton
340 1986:130). In addition, aspects of German (Catholic)
341 architecture can be seen in the wrought-iron grave crosses which
342 stand today in some cemeteries, "an artistic symbol of faith"
343 (Richter 1991:167).

344 These agriculturalists brought with them many diverse
345 skills, ideas, and concepts relating to all areas of life, thus
346 immediately contributing to commerce, industry, and especially
347 agriculture on the Plains. As agriculturalists, the Germans from
348 Russia prospered faster than any other ethnic group in the area.
349 They were extremely well adapted to the harsh climatic conditions
350 and environment of the Ukraine, and thus adapted very well to
351 similar terrain and environments in South Dakota and Nebraska
352 (Sallet 1974:6, 79). Their reputation as highly skilled
353 agriculturalists led them to receive favored attention from
354 Dakota Territory officials (Rippley 1976:91). They are well
355 known for their contribution of Turkey Red Hard Wheat to American
356 agriculture (Olson 1955:206):

357 By 1892, Eureka, South Dakota, which was the terminal of the
358 Milwaukee Road, was the largest primary wheat-shipping point
359 in the world. (Richter 1980:191)

360 Other Germans

361 Some other identified German settlements within or near NIMI
362 are Laurel and Menominee in Cedar County, and Wausa and
363 Bloomfield in Knox County. In Menominee, the St. Boniface
364 Catholic Church, a property listed on the National Register of
365 Historic Places, functioned as "a spiritual, social, and cultural

base for Germans in Cedar County (Nebraska State Historical Society [NSHS] 1988). The town of Pishelville, in Knox County, was also partially comprised of Germans, who settled near a larger Czech population. Between 1900 and 1950, 1,035 identified German-born individuals were listed on the Federal census for Cherry County; however, no settlement or area of concentration was identified for them (NSHS 1989).

Among these immigrants were many Germans of Protestant and Catholic faiths. Their religious and ethnic identity were very closely intertwined (Rippley 1976:99), as can be seen by their distinct homogeneous religious settlements mentioned above. In fact, many Germans in the United States were more unified around their language and religion than place of origin (Frederick C. Luebke, Department of History, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, personal communication, 1993).

The strength of their religious convictions can also be seen in their educational systems and in their mutual aid and benevolent societies. These organizations were not simply German, they were German Catholic, German Lutheran, German atheist, etc. Thus, as LaVern J. Rippley (1976:16) summarizes, "the main thrust of German language education came from those whose primary concern was the preservation of the faith, not of German culture for its own sake."

Some of the most active German societies were the Turner societies (Turner Vereine). A Turner Hall was built in Yankton in 1879 and served as a meeting place for generations thereafter. Another hall built by Germans was the Germania House which served as a meeting place for both Germans and Germans from Russia alike. Members of these organizations advocated antinativism, anticlericalism, and opposition to Prohibition, in addition to promoting or sponsoring events in the realms of religion, education (primarily German-language schools), music, theater, singing, gymnastics, and other activities. It was primarily through these societies that they retained their customs and traditions.

The German-language press also played a very important part in not only promoting German tradition, but also in helping the Germans assimilate into "American" culture. In 1860 there were already 265 German-language newspapers in the United States (Rippley 1976). By 1890 the German-language press had reached its peak with some 800 publications, three-quarters of all the foreign newspapers published in the U.S. By 1904, however, the number had dropped to 600, and by 1930 there were only 172. By 1950 there were only 61 German-language newspapers still being published in the United States (Furer 1973:64, 68, 75, 80). For a comprehensive listing of German newspapers published in the United States between 1732 and 1955, consult Arndt and Olson (1961).

One German-language newspaper, the *Dakota Freie Presse*, was maintained by both Volga and Black Sea Germans and was first published in Yankton in 1873. It failed, however, under anti-German sentiment circa 1920 (Rath 1977:335). This newspaper was circulated not only among Russian-Germans in the United States but also among Volga and Black Sea Germans in Russia (Rippley 1976:179). Its decline after 1900, as well as the general decline in the use of the German language and the promotion of German cultural heritage was due largely to anti-German sentiment, particularly during World War I.

As early as 1900, the German language was relatively little used as a vehicle of instruction in schools and by 1918, when the United States was at war with Germany, the use of German in the educational institutions plummeted virtually to zero: "only the community-conscious sectarians such as the Hutterites have succeeded in maintaining German schools, and then only because German is a tenet of their faith" (Rippley 1976:123, 127). The prior neutral stand taken by most German-Americans had finally changed; they were forced to assimilate into American culture:

...one out of every ten bills introduced into the Nebraska Legislature during January, 1919, reflected the German-language concern. (Rippley 1976:124)

Societies like the Steuben Society were organized by German-Americans to entice the German-American element in the United States into more quickly "Americanizing." They did this to avoid a repetition of the atrocities that resulted from anti-German sentiment of World War I (Furer 1973:73). Thus, their assimilation had been completed by the mid-twentieth century.

Today, however, bilingual schools are once again prevalent. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 recognized the right of children whose native language is not English to an education, while ensuring a revival in the teaching of foreign languages, including German (Rippley 1976:128). In addition, German ethnic festivals can be observed in many communities across Nebraska and South Dakota, which reinforce the ethnic German identity and heritage of such communities (Frederick Luebke, Department of History, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, personal communication, 1993).

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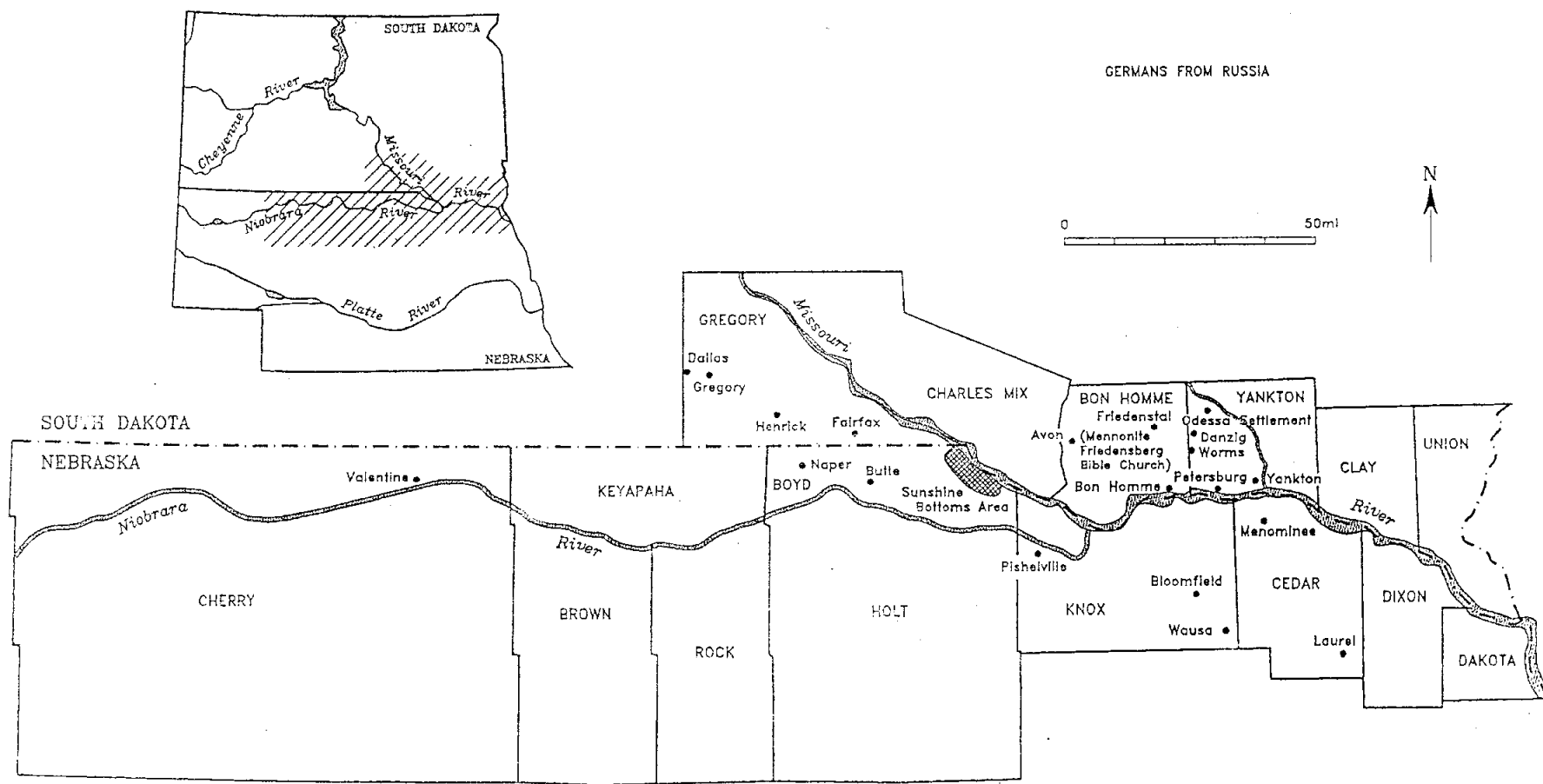
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NIMI GERM



GERMANS FROM RUSSIA

1 [Last revised: 11 October 1994]

2 CHAPTER 21

3 HUTTERITES

4 By Michelle Watson

5 *Introduction*

6 The Hutterites immigrated to the United States fleeing
7 religious persecution and seeking a communal life directed by
8 principles of nonresistance, avoidance, and nonconformity. The
9 first Hutterian colony established in the United States was the
10 Bon Homme Colony in Yankton County, South Dakota, in 1874. From
11 that single colony, 52 Hutterite colonies have developed in South
12 Dakota and there are many more elsewhere in the Northern Plains
13 and Canada (Satterlee 1993:Maps 1 and 2).

14 Among the Anabaptist groups that emerged from the Protestant
15 Reformation in Europe during the sixteenth century, the
16 Hutterites are unique because of their communal lifeways
17 (Satterlee 1993:1). They are distinct from other evangelical
18 churches and from other ethnic settlements primarily because of
19 their communal lifestyle. They believe in community of goods,
20 and hold all property in common; they do not take oaths; they do
21 not take or hold public office; and they baptize only upon adult
22 profession of faith, rather than at birth. Isolated from their
23 non-Hutterian neighbors by choice and by language (German), the
24 Hutterites are by no means an unsophisticated people:

25 The communes are, for the most part, agricultural
26 enterprises, highly advanced technologically and highly
27 isolated socially. Spread for the most part throughout
28 north-central United States and the west-central
29 provinces of Canada, the communes seek no converts.
30 High birth rates alone provide the impetus to expand
31 colony numbers. This expansion creates hard feelings
32 among some outsiders. Neighboring farmers often see
33 the growth in colony numbers as a threat to their own
34 agricultural existence, as price and scarcity of
35 available land become even more critical issues in
36 agriculture. Others have typecast Hutterites as
37 foreign speaking and have accused them of plotting to
38 take over agriculture through their expansionist
39 activities. (Satterlee 1993:1-2)

40 These expansionist activities are a deliberate way for the
41 Hutterite Brethren to create a tightly knit, cohesive, and
42 closely controlled colony environment, and to control population

pressures on the land. In fact, "if each Hutterite family were to have as much land (if they did in fact hold family plots) as any other farm colony, most colonies would have to have at least three times as much land as they now own" (Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983:136). Because they hold all property in common they require much less land than their neighbors to sustain themselves and still have a surplus of produce and livestock to sell.

Colonies are generally small in size, and splinter into daughter colonies when a maximum population size is reached approximately every 14 years. When a "daughter" colony is established, the "mother" colony provides the machinery, physical plants, housing, and livestock needed by the new colony (Satterlee 1993:5, 15).

This tendency to expand and create other colonies has often created friction and ill will on the part of their non-Hutterian neighbors, resulting in legal attempts to limit their expansion (i.e., proposals to establish minimal distances between colonies, and attempts to take away their corporate status, set maximum sizes for colonies, establish governmental boards to review applications for expansion, etc.) The result of these has been the dispersion of newly-formed colonies over a much larger geographic area extending from the James River throughout eastern South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, western Minnesota, and other areas of the Northern Plains (Satterlee 1993:15).

The Hutterites are not very well known to most non-Hutterites. In relation to the other ethnic groups in and adjacent to the Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways, there is less literature available on Hutterite social organization, and much of what is available is somewhat dated.

The only study that focuses exclusively on a Hutterite colony located within NIMI is contained within the first volume of *The Gorge of the Missouri: An Archaeological Survey of Lewis and Clark Lake, Nebraska and South Dakota*, by Donald J. Blakeslee and John O'Shea (1983; see especially pages 124-137). The most recent study available on the Hutterite Brethren that includes information on Brethren membership and colony distribution worldwide is *The Hutterites: A Study in Cultural Diversity* by Dr. James Satterlee (1993). The following additional sources all contain sociological, economic, historical, and some anthropological data on Hutterites in South Dakota: *The Hutterites: A Study in Social Cohesion* by Lee Emerson Deets (1975); *The Hutterites in North America* by John A. Hostetler and Gertrude Enders Huntington (1967); *Comunitarian Societies* by John A. Hostetler (1974); *Hutterite Life* by John A. Hostetler (1983); *Perceptions of the South Dakota Hutterites in the 1980's* by Rod A. Janzen (1984); *The Hutterites: South Dakota's Communal Farmers* by Marvin P. Riley and James R. Stewart (1966); *South Dakota's Hutterite Colonies 1874-1969* by Marvin P. Riley and

91 Darryll R. Johnson (1970); and the *National Register of Historic*
92 *Places Inventory--Nomination Form* for South Dakota Hutterite
93 colonies (U.S. Department of the Interior [USDI] 1981). A 1984
94 film on the Hutterian Brethren, entitled *Hutterites: To Care and*
95 *Not To Care*, is available through the Nebraska Council for the
96 Humanities, Lincoln. In addition, Marvin P. Riley (1965) has
97 published a valuable bibliography of other sources on the
98 Hutterites, entitled *The Hutterite Brethren, An Annotated*
99 *Bibliography with Special Reference to South Dakota Hutterite*
100 *Colonies*.

101 History

102 Hutterite doctrine evolved through more than four centuries
103 of struggle and reform, and Hutterite history was influenced by
104 diverse spiritual, social, economic, and political forces.

105 As mentioned previously, the Hutterites, also known as the
106 Hutterite Brethren, originated as one of a number of religious
107 sects seeking reform from Catholicism during the Protestant
108 Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe. In general, the
109 Anabaptists--of which Hutterites are one variety--advocate
110 communal possession of property, separation of church and state,
111 and adult baptism, believing that infant baptism is not
112 scripturally warranted (Webster 1976:75).

113 Today, there are three surviving Anabaptist groups, the
114 Hutterites, the Mennonites, and the Swiss Anabaptists, the latter
115 of which includes the Old Order Amish (Hostetler 1963). Of the
116 three, Hutterites "differ from Amish and Mennonite groups by
117 their practice of communal ownership of property and communal
118 living" (Hostetler 1983:12). In addition, the Hutterites still
119 speak German, different dialects being spoken in the different
120 colonies, though English is used outside the colony during trade
121 exchange or business. They have retained their German language
122 partly as a religious symbol, and partly as insulation against
123 their external environment. Hutterites are numerous and socially
124 conservative:

125 The Hutterite communities of the United States and
126 Canada are today the oldest, the largest, and by far
127 the most significant examples of Christian communalism.
128 They are living demonstrations also of an extremely
129 conservative and orthodox (not fundamentalist) type of
130 Christianity that in our day is extremely rare. Their
131 turbulent history provides abundant proof of the
132 possible tenacity of total creed, of the efficiency of
133 a non-competitive economy, of the strength and
134 durability of a classless society, and of the
135 effectiveness of careful and prolonged indoctrinations.
136 (Conkin 1964:vii)

137 There were several Anabaptist movements in sixteenth-century
138 Europe, which generally are regarded as originating in Zurich in
139 1523. One such movement, an offshoot of the Swiss Brethren, came
140 to be known as the Hutterian Brethren. From the start, early
141 Hutterites communally shared property, a practice which
142 characterizes Hutterian doctrine to this day. The first colony
143 or communal household (*Bruderhof*), including the first communal
144 church (*Gemein*), was founded in Austerlitz in 1528, which is
145 considered by many Hutterites to be the founding date of their
146 sect. Under the leadership of Jacob Wiedeman, approximately 190
147 conservative, refugee Anabaptists fled from Nickolsburg to
148 Austerlitz, Moravia, where they gathered their worldly goods in
149 common, thus beginning the practice of Hutterian communalism
150 (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:2).

151 The Hutterites are named after Jacob Hutter from Tyrol, who
152 had a major role in organizing the sect. He joined the community
153 at Austerlitz where he served as their leader until 1536 when he
154 was burned at the stake in Innsbruck, Austria, for heresy. While
155 Jacob Wiedeman is generally recognized as the founder and
156 organizer of the Hutterites, it was Hutter who intensified the
157 discipline of communal living.

158 In 1528, the first Hutterite community was established in
159 Moravia, southeast of Brunn (now Brno), an historical region of
160 the former Czechoslovakia, where they were tolerated for
161 approximately a century (Deets 1975). The Hutterite colonists
162 were considered by the Moravian nobles to be industrious and
163 valuable tenants and were thus protected by them from attacks by
164 the Catholic Church. However, news of their prosperity as
165 farmers and craftsmen spread quickly throughout the regions they
166 inhabited, often resulting in raids, robbery, torture, execution,
167 captivity, and other forms of harassment despite the protective
168 efforts of the nobility. The Moravian nobles lost much of their
169 power in 1620 and by 1622 the remaining Hutterites were expelled
170 from Moravia (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:2-3).

171 For over a century the Hutterites wandered throughout the
172 area that now comprises the nation of Hungary, although Hutterite
173 communities in these areas continued to suffer religious and
174 economic persecution. Because of the Hutterites' reputation for
175 industry and productivity, several families of Hutterites were
176 invited by Russian Count Romanzov in 1770 to establish
177 settlements in the northern Ukraine of Russia. Russian Empress
178 Catherine the Great in 1763 issued a manifesto which served as
179 the basis for colonizing many underdeveloped regions of the
180 Russian Empire (Unruh 1972:11-12; Stumpp 1978:15), which further
181 supported the Hutterites' settling in the Ukraine.

182 In the Ukraine, all Germans, including the Hutterites, were
183 granted complete religious freedom, tax exemptions, free trade
184 practice, control of education practices, exemption from military

185 duty, and were provided land to cultivate. After years of
186 continual hardships, craftsmen who had lost their holdings
187 reacquired some of their material wealth and personal privileges
188 while in the Ukraine, where they thrived for nearly a century.
189 Despite this relative prosperity under the Tsars, many Hutterites
190 were wary of eventually losing their property once again, only
191 this time to Russia, and thus refused to hold property in common
192 with others: "As a result, communal ownership was abandoned for
193 forty years (1819-1859) and revived again after 1859" (Hostetler
194 and Huntington 1967:3).

195 The Hutterites had, once again, become successful in
196 reinstating their communal way of life when the Russian
197 government declared (circa 1870) that skilled farmers and
198 craftsmen were no longer needed by Russia and that privileges
199 previously accorded to groups like the Hutterites, such as
200 exemption from military service, would be withdrawn. In
201 addition, the Russian serfs who lived near the Hutterites were
202 themselves less skilled agriculturalists and thus were jealous at
203 the Hutterites' prosperity. The successor to Catherine the
204 Great, Tsar Alexander II, in 1871 set in motion a sweeping new
205 program to "Russianize" the entire Russian Empire, including the
206 Hutterites (Riley and Johnson 1970:8; Unruh 1972:14; Jones 1976).
207 The Hutterites correctly saw this forced assimilation into
208 Russian society as a threat to their religious principles and way
209 of life. Consequently, they chose to emigrate to Canada and
210 North America, beginning about 1871 (Riley and Stewart 1966).
211 One of the factors prominently responsible for this emigration
212 was an 1872 requirement, under the universal military training
213 act, for Russian subjects to serve in the military (Hostetler and
214 Huntington 1967:3). As pacifists, Hutterites refused to
215 participate in war or violence of any kind. Alternative service
216 in forestry or medical work was permitted, but the Hutterites
217 were suspicious that this would also lead to unwanted changes in
218 their lifestyle (Dyck 1967:155).

219 As a result, Hutterite delegates were chosen to venture to
220 the frontiers of America in 1873 to seek free or cheap land on
221 which to establish a new colony free from the oppressive regimes
222 of the Old World (Unruh 1972:16). The delegates were sent to
223 America with instructions to seek the following:

224 1. Religious freedom and exemption from military
225 service.

226 2. Land of good quality, in quantity sufficient to
227 meet their needs, at moderate prices and easy terms.

228 3. The right to live in closed communities, have their
229 own form of government, and be able to use the German
230 language as they had been permitted to use it in
231 Russia.

232 4. An advance of sufficient money to cover
233 transportation expenses from Russia to America.

234 According to Hofer and Walter (1974:49), "these requests might
235 seem excessive by today's standards but the western states and
236 railroad companies were anxious to receive industrious settlers."
237 The Hutterites were welcomed by land development interests in the
238 western United States because of their reputation in Europe as
239 highly skilled farmers and craftsmen.

240 The delegates located land in southern Dakota Territory,
241 which was environmentally similar to the areas which the
242 Hutterites had inhabited in Russia (Hofer and Walter 1974:49).
243 The first immigrant Hutterites arrived in Lincoln, Nebraska, in
244 1874. While staying in temporary quarters in Lincoln, awaiting
245 their move to South Dakota, an epidemic broke out, resulting in
246 several deaths among the party. Later that year they moved to
247 Yankton where they purchased about 2,500 acres of farm land from
248 Walter A. Burleigh, which thus became the first Hutterite colony
249 in the United States, the Bon Homme Colony in Bon Homme County,
250 South Dakota (Peters 1965:41-42).

251 Between 1874 and 1877, successive parties of newly-arrived
252 Hutterites, totalling about 800 people, founded three colonies in
253 present-day South Dakota. In addition to the first colony, the
254 Bon Homme Colony in Bon Homme County, a colony at Wolf Creek, 12
255 miles west of Freeman, was established under the leadership of
256 Darius Walter, and the Old Elmsprings Colony was established
257 northeast of Parkston by Jacob Wipf (Hostetler and Huntington
258 1967:3; Riley and Johnson 1970:8-9).

259 Some of the newly-arrived Hutterite families--about half--
260 preferred privately-owned property and settled on family farms
261 near the communal colonies (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:3).
262 The Hutterites call these people *Prairieleut* or the "prairie
263 people," who, instead of living in the traditional communal way,
264 chose to live and work independently of one another, affiliating
265 with other nearby religious groups such as the Mennonites.

266 Hutterites distinguish three separate groups or "peoples"
267 (*Leut*) among themselves (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:3). Two
268 of the groups took their names from their first leaders in the
269 United States. They are the *Schmiedeleut* (after a minister named
270 Schmied-Michel who was a blacksmith by trade) who settled Bon
271 Homme Colony, and the *Dariusleut* (named after their minister,
272 Darius) who settled Wolf Creek Colony. The third groups, the
273 *Lehrerleut*, took their name, "teacher's people," from their
274 leader's (Jacob Wipf) profession as a teacher; they settled the
275 Old Elmsprings Colony. The three groups are largely similar, but
276 also differ in several important respects:

277 The three share a common body of doctrine, language, and

278 social patterns, but each has its own senior elder and
279 *ordnungen* (discipline). Each *Leut* has its own periodic
280 preacher assembly that ordains leaders and modifies or
281 changes the discipline, and each is unified by the preferred
282 endogamous marriage pattern. The *Leut* is the largest unit
283 within which there is both a means and a moral obligation to
284 settle disputes. (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:3)

285 There is currently a fourth group of Hutterites organized in
286 New York and Pennsylvania under the name of *Arnold Leut*. The
287 *Arnold Leut* differ substantially from the Hutterites of the
288 Plains region. They are not agriculturalists, they are more
289 liberal in relationship to the Hutterites in the West, and most
290 of their membership is comprised of non-Hutterite converts rather
291 than individuals raised in the Hutterite doctrine from birth,
292 leaving their future success undeterminable (Jim Satterlee, South
293 Dakota State University, personal communication, 1993).

294 Between 1879 and 1913, there was a marked expansion in the
295 number of Hutterite colonies throughout South Dakota; population
296 pressures impelled expansion (Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983:127)

297 After 1913, strong sentiment against the Hutterites because
298 of their teutonic origin and because of their refusal to
299 participate in World War I led to an exodus of all colonies, with
300 exception of Bon Homme, to Canada beginning in 1918. In 1935,
301 the South Dakota legislature passed the Communal Corporation Act
302 which created a more favorable atmosphere for the Hutterites, and
303 many of the colonies returned to South Dakota and reincorporated
304 under that law (Riley and Johnson 1970:9-10). Today there are 52
305 colonies in South Dakota, each averaging approximately 4,731
306 acres of land (Satterlee 1993:14). All of them are descended
307 from the original Bon Homme colony (Blakeslee and O'Shea
308 1983:130). Within or close to the NIMI area are the following
309 colonies (see Satterlee 1993:5-6):

310	Bon Homme County:	Bon Homme
311	Charles Mix County:	Lakeview
312		Cedar Grove
313		Platte
314	Yankton County:	Jamesville

316 Bon Homme, the first and oldest Hutterite colony in the
317 United States, was established in 1874 18 miles west of Yankton,
318 South Dakota, on land purchased from the Burleigh family. Their
319 purchase of the Burleigh Ranch included a house and a store which
320 were built in 1864 and 1865 by the Burleigh family. The Bon
321 Homme Colony contains structures that date from pre-1913 and two
322 of its original buildings are still used as residences (U.S.
323 Department of the Interior [USDI] 1981; Blakeslee and O'Shea

324 1983:125). The Colony was listed in the National Register of
325 Historic Places on June 30, 1982 (Anonymous 1989:656).

326 The first North American Hutterite cemetery was also
327 established at Bon Homme in 1875. Because of their egalitarian
328 beliefs, many graves are unmarked and all marked graves have
329 simple concrete stones (USDI 1981:section 7, page 4).

330 *Social Organization and Lifeway*

331 Communism, pacifism, and avoidance are the Hutterites' three
332 central doctrines of living. These three doctrines permeate the
333 social fabric of Hutterite existence:

334 Socially, the Hutterian households have found a "body
335 politic" within communal living, which provides for their
336 needs under the guidance of religious principles of
337 education, management of production, consumption, trade and
338 social welfare, and including medical care and protection of
339 aged. (Correll 1931:xi)

340 Their traditions and beliefs (i.e., nonresistance, avoidance, and
341 nonconformity) are concepts as well as rules of conduct for life
342 wherein their Christian religious beliefs encompass their whole
343 behavior (Kaufman 1979).

344 Consequently, as Hostetler (1983:29) has summarized, "No
345 days of the week or tasks are purely secular in Hutterite life."

346 Hutterite social structure and economic structure are based
347 on the colony as a unit, and not on individual family units
348 (Luebke 1980:94). Church service and Sunday school encompass the
349 extent of formal organizations in Hutterite life because, as
350 Conkin (1964) has pointed out, "the words...community and church
351 are inseparable and almost synonymous" in the eyes of Hutterites.

352 A carefully regulated routine of activities provides a form
353 of "controlled acculturation" tending to preserve Hutterite
354 culture from change and provide colony members with a continu
355 sense of security (Peter 1987; see also Mattison 1956):

356 ...certain things are done daily, weekly, and throughout the
357 year at fixed times. Bells even ring to inform a person of
358 work breaks, curfews for the children and mealtime. This is
359 a controlled atmosphere with an accompanying sense of
360 security and order. (Janzen 1984:14)

361 This regulated environment does not allow individual ownership of
362 worldly possessions or enjoyment of amusements counter to
363 Hutterite doctrine:

364 Dance, theater, cards, smoking, motion pictures, television,

365 and radio are generally off-limits. (Satterlee 1993:6-7)

366 Defiance of colony rules results in strict discipline
367 requiring the deviates to admit their sins before all colony
368 members and/or serve a probationary period. Continued defiance
369 can result in complete ostracizing of the defiant by all members
370 of the colony (Satterlee 1993:7).

371 Horsch (1931) details more information on the faith and
372 principles of the Hutterian Brethren.

373 Economy

374 As rural enclaves, the Hutterite colonies practice semi-
375 closed agrarian economies and engage successfully in farming.
376 Traditionally, the Hutterites have maintained farms, dairies,
377 vineyards, wineries, mills, sawmills, etc. Nowadays, little has
378 changed except the tools and techniques employed in their
379 agricultural endeavors. They keep abreast of and employ the
380 newest developments in agricultural technology (Satterlee 1993).

381 Historically, as the agricultural frontier developed, crop
382 diversification took place. One new crop adopted widely in the
383 West was Hard Red Winter Turkey Wheat, introduced by the
384 Mennonites and the Hutterites who emigrated from the steppes of
385 Russia in the 1870s. A strain of this was the Marquis variety,
386 popular during the 1870s and 1880s because it resisted drought
387 and rust. As corn yields and livestock prices rapidly decreased
388 in the 1890s, strains of the Hard Red Winter Turkey Wheat and
389 other hardy varieties like Centurk and Cheyenne were widely
390 adopted, much credit for this being due to immigrant Mennonites
391 and Hutterites (John Schmidt, Department of Agronomy, University
392 of Nebraska-Lincoln, personal communication 1993; Olson 1955:206;
393 Schell 1961:336). Thus, with their new settlements in America,
394 and with a blending of old and new agricultural technology and
395 rich, available land, Hutterites became and still are today among
396 the most successful agriculturalists specializing in grain
397 production (Hostetler 1983).

398 Bon Homme Colony, being an agricultural endeavor, purchases
399 water for residential use from the rural water system and
400 irrigation water from nearby Lewis and Clark Lake (Blakeslee and
401 O'Shea 1983:129; Jim Satterlee, South Dakota State University,
402 personal communication, 1993).

403 Traditional Hutterite crafts included bookbinding, cutlery,
404 masonry, leather working, watchmaking, broom making, weaving,
405 ceramics, etc. Some of these crafts are still performed today by
406 elders who are freed from their daily work positions in the
407 colonies and are free to choose how they will spend their time
408 (Satterlee 1993).

409 Governance

410 The Hutterite colonies in South Dakota first incorporated
411 under the laws of that state in 1905, previously having owned
412 land as an organized religious group but without formal
413 recognition of corporate status. Statutes of incorporation grant
414 property rights to the corporation as a whole, rather than to the
415 individuals comprising the corporation. Consequently, all
416 earnings, service, and labor of individuals belong to the
417 corporation, a concept very much in keeping with the Hutterian
418 notion of communal possession of goods. Corporate status
419 protects individuals from legal reprisals or disputes from both
420 outside and within the community. Corporate status does not,
421 however, exempt the Hutterites from paying taxes (Blakeslee and
422 O'Shea 1983:128).

423 The Hutterian Brethren Church is organized nationally under
424 the Articles of Association. Four "conferences"--*Darius Leut*,
425 *Lehrer Leut*, *Schmeiden Leut*, and *Arnold Leut*--encompass the 365
426 colonies in North America. Each conference is directed by an
427 executive committee, and a Board of Managers is organized from
428 the membership of each of the four conferences:

429 The Church and Conference Boards exercise control over
430 Church dogma and discipline, while each colony has complete
431 control over its own secular affairs. (Satterlee 1993:5)

432 Within each colony, basic decisions are made by an elected
433 Council of Elders, the colony minister, and department heads
434 (Satterlee 1993:5-7).

435 Order and authority in Hutterite society is patriarchal;
436 voting power resides with the patriarchy, composed of elected
437 officials chosen from the elderly membership of each colony. The
438 preacher is the spiritual and moral leader, the *Wirt* or boss is
439 the financial secretary, and the field manager directs all farm
440 and labor operations. Other elected positions are managers for
441 the cattle, poultry, and hogs, and supervisors over the shoe
442 making, blacksmithing, and cabinet making. Elected positions of
443 head cook, head seamstress, kindergarten teacher, and midwife
444 belong to women (Hostetler 1983). Within the *Bruderhof* or
445 colony, members' skills are recognized and positions are assigned
446 based on abilities.

447 Hutterian Age-Groups and Education

448 The Hutterite individual life span is patterned into age
449 categories which effectively provide education and support for
450 each stage of life: nursery age, kindergarten age, school age,
451 youth, baptismal age and adulthood, marriage age and life, and
452 elderdom (Hostetler 1974:42; 1983:25; Satterlee 1993).

453 There are four levels of education in Hutterite Society:
454 kindergarten, German school, Sunday School, and English school,
455 all of which emphasize the Hutterian faith (Bennett 1967;
456 Satterlee 1993:12).

457 The youngest spend the day in nurseries typically under the
458 care of an elder female member of the colony. Between the ages
459 of 2-1/2 and 5, children attend kindergarten where they begin to
460 learn traditional Hutterite songs, folk games, and proverbs;
461 nursery rhyme books are provided as a supplement. During
462 kindergarten, "cooperative relations are emphasized and
463 competitive relations are severely suppressed" (Deets 1975:42-
464 43).

465 Between ages 6 and 15 children attend English school and
466 German school. In English school they are taught reading,
467 writing, arithmetic, and social studies using state-approved
468 texts. In German School they are taught the German language and
469 the religious tenets of the Hutterite Brethren. Sunday school,
470 for ages 6-20, prepares young people for baptism (Satterlee
471 1993:14).

472 After age 15 and prior to baptism, individuals are referred
473 to as youth and enter a transitional period where work details
474 are few, and institutionalized education is considered completed.
475 During this time, some youth leave the colony to experiment with
476 life outside the colony, but most "return to enter the next stage
477 in the family life cycle--baptism and full adult acceptance and
478 participation" (Satterlee 1993:11). Marriage and admission into
479 the Hutterite church do not occur until they have professed the
480 Hutterite faith and are baptized (at age 19-20 for girls, 20-26
481 for boys) (Satterlee 1993:11).

482 Each colony provides a school house and teachers are
483 typically brought in from outside the colony. Because education
484 has traditionally ended at age 15 or grade eight for Hutterites,
485 they cannot qualify for state certification as teachers. In
486 South Dakota today, however, four colonies have their own
487 certified Hutterite "English" teachers who have, through self-
488 instruction and attendance at a local Mennonite college, passed
489 certification requirements (Satterlee 1993:13).

490 The elders within the colonies may retire when they so
491 choose, at which time they do as they choose. Many of them serve
492 on the Council of Elders while either working part-time in the
493 fields or gardens, helping in the nursery, or taking up hobbies
494 such as sewing, or broom-making. They are not required to
495 perform any tasks (Jim Satterlee, South Dakota State University,
496 personal communication, 1993).

497 Within Hutterite Society these age-grades can easily be
498 identified. For example, after marriage, males grow beards.

499 Women wear head kerchiefs and bulging skirts of different colors
500 to portray their marital status.

501 Marriage

502 Marriage is permitted with the explicit consent of the
503 parents and the colony church (Hostetler 1983). The minister
504 within each colony maintains kinship charts to alleviate
505 confusion over marriage partner selection. Endogamy, or marriage
506 within one's own *Leut*, or "people," is preferred (Hostetler and
507 Huntington 1967:3) and post-marital residence is patrilocal,
508 i.e., in the residence of the husband's parents. Marriages are
509 conducted only on certain Sundays (Satterlee 1993:11). Formal
510 dissolution of marriages is rare or non-existent.

511 Death and Vital Statistics

512 For Hutterites, death is not a grieving experience, but
513 rather a celebration of birth to eternal life and a reward for a
514 life filled with tribulation and pain (Stephenson 1992; Satterlee
515 1993:12).

516 The Hutterite colonies have maintained high birth rates and
517 low death rates resulting in continued population increases with
518 the men generally living longer than the women (Satterlee
519 1993:12). Early 1920s data reveal birth rates to have been 44
520 per 1,000 population and death rates 8 per 1,000 at that time
521 (Deets 1975:13-14). Hutterite families are generally large.
522 Average family size has ranged from 5.9 in 1931, to 10.2 in the
523 1960s, to 6.7 in the 1990s (Deets 1975:12; Satterlee 1993:14; Jim
524 Satterlee, South Dakota State University, personal communication,
525 1993).

526 Medical Issues

527 Medically, the Hutterites are a sophisticated people (Eaton
528 and Mayer 1954:49). They seek medical advice and services from
529 state facilities, clinics, and hospitals. Local hospitals and
530 clinics have replaced the traditional role of the midwife.

531 Birth control is a major factor affecting the demographic
532 pattern of Hutterite Society. Birth control is considered a sin
533 and medical advice against pregnancy is viewed with concern
534 (Eaton and Mayer 1954).

535 Medical practices and attitudes toward medicine and
536 insurance among the Hutterites are little known in general.
537 Eaton and Weil (1955) provide somewhat dated information on
538 culture and mental disorders among the Hutterite populations
539 (Eaton and Weil 1955).

540 Living Quarters

541 Stability characterizes the Hutterites' use of space for
542 living purposes:

543 What gives a Hutterite identity is not the place he has
544 lived, nor having lived in one or many places, but rather
545 that in spite of geographic moves the pattern of his life
546 has always been the same, even to the floor plan of his
547 house and the position of his home relative to that of his
548 neighbors. (Hostetler and Huntington 1967:21)

549 The families within the colonies live in separate apartments
550 within "longhouses" or they live in newer apartment buildings.
551 The traditional longhouse contained four apartments each with a
552 separate entrance; each apartment has three rooms and a simple
553 wash basin. For most colonies, wash rooms were not existent
554 within apartments until after 1955, as few colonies had running
555 water in their apartments. Furnishings are generally sparse.
556 The main room (entrance room) of the apartments contains a table,
557 straight chairs, and a cupboard for a few dishes. The bedrooms
558 contain double beds, day beds, chests and cribs. The dining hall
559 is separate.

560 Consumptuary rules are limited. Meals within the colony are
561 prepared first for the adults and then for the children; children
562 dine in a separate dining room. There is no talking and
563 consumption is quick so members can get back to their activities.
564 A typical Hutterite table offers four to five different main
565 courses, bread, and dessert. Their diet consists primarily of
566 vegetables, grains, meat, poultry, dumplings, and breads and pies
567 (Jim Satterlee, South Dakota State University, personal
568 communication, 1993).

569 Other buildings within a colony may include: kindergarten,
570 school house, wash house, kitchen and bakery, root and wine
571 cellar, shop for carpentry, bookbinding, cabinet making, broom
572 making, and shoe and harness repair, as well as numerous barns
573 for sheep, cattle, poultry, hogs, and horses (Hostetler 1983).

574 Records, Publications, and Media

575 Records are kept by colonies for various reasons. The chief
576 sources of Hutterite traditions are found in two volumes of their
577 history written on a year-by-year basis by their own recorders.
578 These two volumes are the *Grosse Geschicht-Buch* or Great
579 Chronicle and the *Kleine Geschicht-Buch* or Little Chronicle
580 (Deets 1975:5). Kinship charts are kept by the ministers, as
581 well as vital statistics. Hutterite archives also contain
582 business records, and some individuals keep diaries and intimate
583 correspondence. All of these records are written in German long-
584 hand script (Deets 1975; Jim Satterlee, South Dakota State
585 University, personal communication, 1993).

586 The primary printed material from outside the colonies are
587 brochures or technical bulletins used by the patriarchy to obtain
588 information on certain farming techniques, etc. Other "outside"
589 literature is found only infrequently in the colonies. A colony
590 may subscribe to a newspaper or magazine, such as *The Pathfinder*,
591 but they are rarely circulated (Deets 1975). Televisions are a
592 rarity and radio and telephones are operated only by the colony
593 or farm manager and by the minister to obtain information on
594 markets, weather, and other pragmatic matters (Jim Satterlee,
595 South Dakota State University, personal communication, 1993).
596 One recent publication that reached the South Dakota colonies,
597 which was published by the *Arnold Leut* (see below) in New York
598 and Pennsylvania, was intended to recruit new converts to
599 colonies in the East, which it successfully did (Jim Satterlee,
600 South Dakota State University, personal communication, 1993). In
601 fact, the influence of the eastern colonies, *The Arnold Leut*, has
602 had very recent impact on Roland Colony in Brookings County.
603 Four or five families in South Dakota converted to the *Arnold*
604 *Leut* in June of 1993, resulting in Roland Colony making attempts
605 to send their children to public schools past the eighth grade as
606 incentive to stop more from converting (Jim Satterlee, South
607 Dakota State University, personal communication, 1993).

608 Generally, Hutterite colonies experience very little
609 defection by their members. Of those who do defect,
610 approximately 80 percent return. Spouses from outside the colony
611 who marry defectors do not return with them to live the colony
612 (Satterlee 1993:7-8).

613 Political Action

614 The Hutterites are generally passive in political matters,
615 and seldom, if ever, participate in public elections outside
616 their colony (Jim Satterlee, South Dakota State University,
617 personal communication, 1993). Legal affairs are administered
618 through a non-Hutterite attorney hired by the colony.
619 Representatives attend public school board meetings simply to
620 keep informed about educational developments that may affect
621 schools within the colonies. Most colonies file individual tax
622 returns for each member (Janzen 1984:22; Jim Satterlee, South
623 Dakota State University, personal communication, 1993).

624 Clothing

625 Traditionally, clothing was spun either of wool or flax.
626 Natural wood dyes were used to variously color fabrics. Today,
627 much of the clothing is made with cloth purchased in bulk from
628 outside the colony. Women still wear long, patterned dresses or
629 skirts and head covers. They have long hair combed Hutterite
630 style which they seldom cut. Men traditionally wore dark-colored
631 wool trousers, coats, and suspenders, which are now only used for
632 sacred events such as weddings, baptisms, and church services.

633 They prefer to wear pre-made denim overalls for daily labor and
634 recreational activity. Gingerich (1978) reviews changes in
635 Hutterite attire through time.

636 *Management Considerations*

637 An increase of tourism in the vicinity of Hutterite
638 colonies--such as may result from development of the
639 Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways--may well have an
640 impact upon them. This impact may be especially profound at Old
641 Bon Homme Colony, the first established and oldest Hutterite
642 colony in the United States, as it borders Lewis and Clark Lake
643 in Bon Homme County, South Dakota. An increase in the number of
644 visitors to the NIMI region may conflict with the Hutterites'
645 traditional desire for privacy and isolation from non-Hutterites.

646 Hutterite families tend to be relatively large, and the
647 practice of birth control is discouraged. Consequently, the
648 population of Hutterite colonies grows until the capacity of the
649 colony's land to support that population is taxed. When that
650 maximum population size is reached, generally around 150 people,
651 a splintering or budding process occurs, whereby some of the
652 families take up residence elsewhere and form a daughter colony.
653 This constant process has led to the proliferation of Hutterite
654 colonies in the Northern Plains of the United States and Canada,
655 where about 365 colonies exist today (Satterlee:4). Although
656 only one colony, the original Bon Homme Colony, exists today
657 within NIMI, other colonies may form in or near NIMI in the
658 future.

659 The primary concerns for the Hutterites at Bon Homme Colony
660 today are 1) erosion along the shoreline of the lake as many
661 colony buildings are located close to the edge of the lake, and
662 2) continued privacy and isolation from outsiders, as government
663 land is only a few feet from many of the colony buildings.

664 Establishing contact with the colonies is difficult as the
665 Hutterites prefer to remain isolated and are wary of anyone who
666 is non-Hutterian, especially people with whom they have not
667 previously established relations. Contacts may be made, however,
668 through individuals who have worked with Hutterite communities in
669 the past and thus have established some form of relationship with
670 them, such as Dr. James Satterlee of the Department of Rural
671 Sociology, South Dakota State University, Brookings. Dr.
672 Satterlee has expressed his willingness to mediate for the
673 National Park Service and/or provide names and addresses of key
674 persons to contact within each of the five colonies in or
675 adjacent to NIMI.

676 *Conclusion*

677 The Hutterites in South Dakota represent a utopian society

678 practicing a form of religious communism, living in colonies and
679 holding all goods and property in common in accordance with a
680 strict interpretation of early Christian teachings. Their
681 religious beliefs can be found in the Chronicle, a written
682 compilation of their doctrine. Their daily life centers on the
683 church, where they attend service each morning and evening, seven
684 days a week. For an account of a non-Hutterite's experience
685 living within a Hutterite colony see (Holzach 1993).

686 There is no land in Nebraska owned by the Hutterites today.
687 The only known past land holding by the Hutterites in Nebraska
688 was along the Missouri River: "In 1950 however, they sold these
689 land holdings to a private owner leaving all of their remaining
690 landholdings on the South Dakota side of the Missouri River"
691 (Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983:131). The location and extent of
692 these pre-1950 land holdings in Nebraska are unknown, but they
693 were probably adjacent to the present-day Bon Homme Colony on the
694 Nebraska side of the Missouri River (Donald J. Blakeslee, Wichita
695 State University, personal communication, 1993).

696 The only known incident of Hutterite displacement occurred
697 in the 1940s as a consequence of the construction of Gavin's
698 Point Dam:

699 The United States government acquired through condemnation
700 approximately 2,500 acres of bottomland and some upland.
701 The Bon Homme colony lost a sawmill used to produce lumber
702 for both domestic use and for sale, and they lost an
703 orchard, hog lots, cattle feedlots, a winter grazing
704 pasture, and about 1,000 acres of cultivated land. There
705 was also a mill used to stone grind grain into flour which
706 burned down before their land dispute was settled but the
707 stonework of the mill, which remained after the fire, was
708 inundated by water. (Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983:131-132)

709 The mill had been built in 1875 with the help of two other
710 religious groups. The Harmony Society (the Rappites) of
711 Pennsylvania loaned \$6,000 for that purpose, and the Amish of the
712 Amana Colonies in Iowa contributed labor (Deets 1939:49; Conkin
713 1964:50; Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983:132). Historical photos of
714 the mill and other buildings in the Bon Homme Colony have been
715 published in a brief interpretive booklet on Lewis and Clark Lake
716 (Smithsonian Institution n.d.:22-23).

717 Two memorials commemorate Hutterian immigration, having been
718 dedicated by Mennonites in South Dakota. They are located north
719 of NIMI, near the town of Freeman in Hutchinson County, South
720 Dakota. A memorial erected in 1974 to commemorate the centennial
721 of Mennonite and Hutterian immigration is located along Highway
722 81 at the northeast edge of Freeman, and another centennial
723 Hutterite memorial, also erected in 1974, can be viewed at the
724 Neu Hutterthaler Church one mile west and three miles north of

725 Freeman.

726 The Hutterites represent a remarkably successful agrarian
727 adaptation to the Plains environment. Although they have been
728 culturally conservative and stable over a period spanning more
729 than 400 years, and have maintained a pattern of life little
730 influenced by the world around them, they have been receptive to
731 and taken advantage of advances in agricultural technology. As a
732 result, they have achieved a substantial degree of prosperity
733 while preserving an economical lifestyle (USDI 1981:section 7,
734 page 1).

735 The well-organized, virtually self-sufficient, and well-
736 disciplined Hutterites are an excellent model for providing more
737 with less in a time when competition for resources and the move
738 toward urbanization are on the rise:

739 Diversification of enterprises and self-sufficiency are
740 the central objectives of the Hutterite economy. (Eaton
741 1943:223)

742 Finally, the capacity of the Hutterites to resist change has
743 been extremely successful:

744 Without aid or relief, public or private, Hutterites in
745 South Dakota have remained solvent taxpayers in a state in
746 which one-third of the population has been on relief, in
747 which seventy-five per cent of the banks have failed, and in
748 which taxes have become delinquent on approximately one
749 third of the taxable land. (Deets 1975:1)

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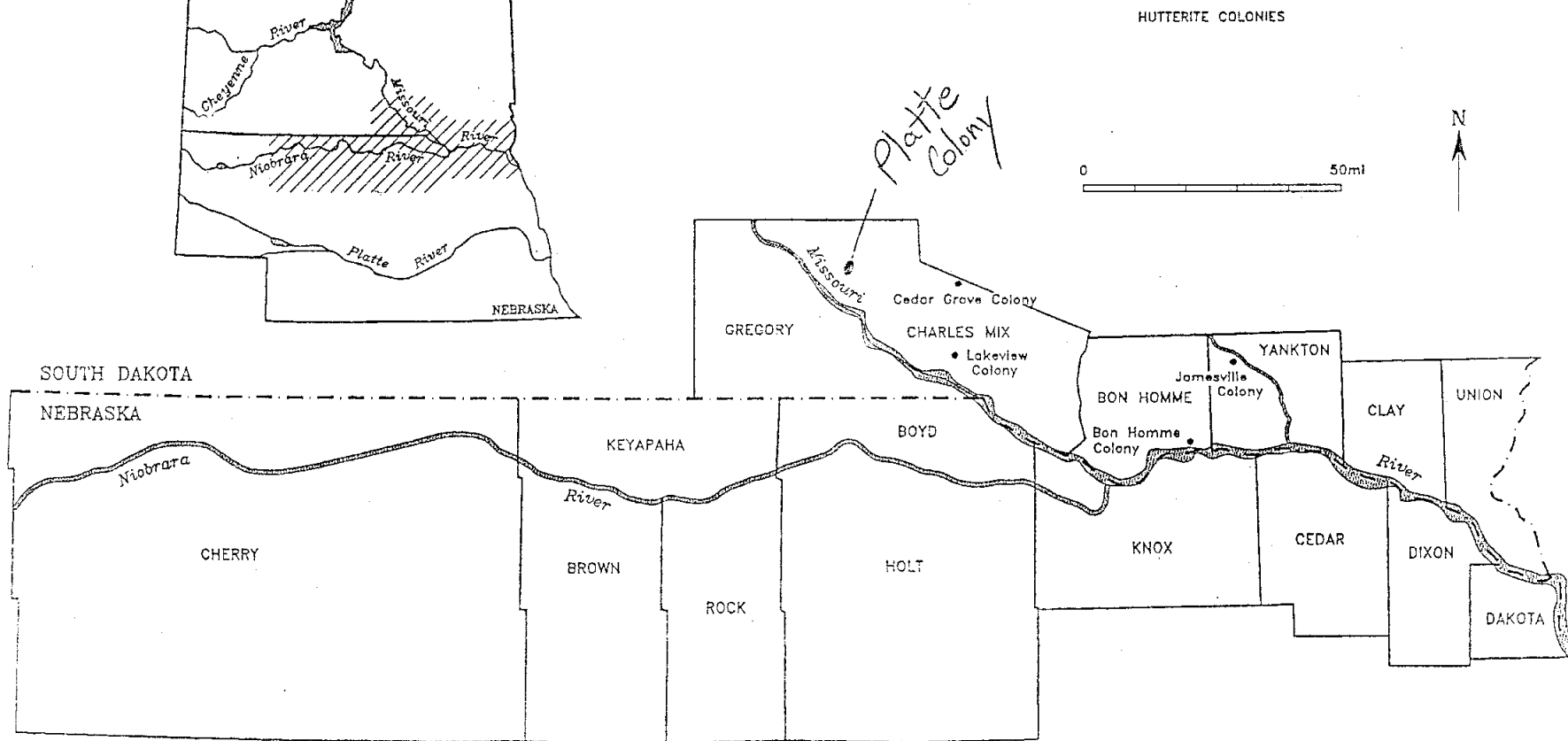
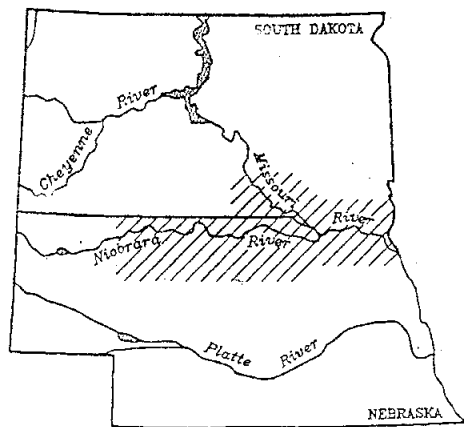
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CHAPTER 22

CZECHS

By Michelle Watson

Introduction

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, thousands of Czech immigrants arrived in the Central Plains to make new lives for themselves. These Czechs primarily sought individual freedom and an opportunity to prosper economically (Garver 1980), but many also sought political and religious freedom, as their history was characterized by the continual loss and re-gaining of their cultural identity (Murphy n.d.:ii).

As the former Czechoslovakia became very densely populated, the economy weakened, land became scarce, and families could no longer support themselves. Their government was also without the means with which to help them, which resulted in mass immigration to the United States after the 1848 revolution in Prague (Solle 1993:142). This emigration from the "Czech Lands" was precipitated by relaxed emigration laws in Bohemia and Moravia in 1867 (Ron Dobry, Verdigre, Nebraska, personal communication, 1993).

The Czechs who immigrated to the United States came from that part of Europe that constitutes the modern "Czech Lands," settled first by tribes of Celtic people, (called the Boii in the first century B.C.), then Germanic, and finally Slavic tribes over the course of hundreds of years (Hrbková 1919:140; Rosický 1929).

Upon settling on the Plains of Nebraska and South Dakota, beginning in 1867, the Czechs re-created their ethnic identity while experiencing the processes of assimilation into "American" culture. Today, Czechs in the United States are experiencing yet another revival of their Czech Heritage (Murphy n.d.) which can be seen through the numerous Czech festivals held each year throughout the United States, and in the desire for a revival of Czech language in the educational systems in towns like Verdigre, Nebraska (Míla Šašková-Pierce, Department of Modern Languages, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, personal communication, 1993).

The Czech people took their name from Slavic immigrants in the sixth century who called themselves Czechs (echs) after their leader who was named ech. The term "Bohemian" is not used by Czechs in reference to themselves because it refers to an ethnic group of Celtic people. In addition, the term "Bohemian"

43 originated from the French word *boheme* (meaning gypsy), and
44 mistakenly refers to Czechs as gypsies. To refer to a Czech as a
45 "Czechoslovak" is misleading and incorrect because the Slovaks
46 are yet another branch of Slavs (Rosický 1929:19-21).

47 *Czech Immigration*

48 The surges in Czech emigration to the United States
49 coincided with the 1848 revolution in Prague, and continued
50 through the end of World War I (Murphy n.d.). After 1865, a
51 fairly constant flow of Czech immigrants settled in the rich
52 lands of the Missouri and Niobrara River valleys until after
53 World War I (1930); approximately 75 percent of these Czech
54 immigrants settled in Nebraska (Švejda 1967:18). During this
55 time, there were more first-generation Czech farmers in Nebraska
56 than in any other state (Rosický 1929).

57 Czech immigration to South Dakota began in 1869 and
58 continued until 1914, though the total scope of Czech immigration
59 to South Dakota was relatively small in comparison to other
60 ethnic groups.

61 Several factors combined to draw Czech settlers into
62 Nebraska and South Dakota. Czech colonization clubs were
63 organized, sparsely populated land was available, and numerous
64 Czech publications promoted Czech immigration.

65 Czech colonization clubs were formed circa 1867 to
66 prearrange settlements for new Czech immigrants that would be
67 compatible to their homelands (Richards 1981:258). Thus,
68 Nebraska and South Dakota were selected for settlement by Czechs.
69 The Niobrara River valley was particularly favored because of the
70 abundance of agriculturally rich land (Ron Dobry, Verdigre,
71 Nebraska, personal communication, 1993).

72 In addition to colonization clubs, Czech newspapers like the
73 *Pokrok Západu*, which means "progress of the west," were abundant
74 for the purpose of providing reliable leadership and critical
75 information about state and federal laws, politics, civics,
76 current events, potential employment, and land availability
77 (Hrbková 1919:152-155; Rosický 1929). The *Pokrok Západu* was
78 first published in Omaha in 1871 and was sold in 1920 to the
79 *Weekly Hlasatel* of Chicago, Illinois (Rosický 1929:385). In
80 Nebraska, there were some 20 Czech newspapers published
81 simultaneously which included both dailies and weeklies (Švejda
82 1967:19):

83 Between January 1860 and the spring of 1911, 326 Czech
84 newspapers and journals (predominantly weeklies) were
85 published. (Svoboda 1976:161)

86 It is estimated that in 1900 about 150,000 Czechs subscribed to

one Czech-language newspaper or another (Šašková-Pierce 1993:209). Today there are four Czech-language newspapers still published in the United States in Czech. They are the *esko-Slovenský Týdeník*, *Hlas Národa*, *Hospodá* and the *Hlassatel*, all of which are published in the East and circulated nationally (Joseph Svoboda, Lincoln, Nebraska, personal communication, 1993).

In addition to newspapers, numerous booklets and pamphlets were published to encourage emigration. "*How is it in America?*," and the *Hospodá*, an agricultural journal established in 1891, were published in Omaha by Jan Rosický. Rosický assisted promotional efforts by advertising, in the *Hospodá* in 1904, those lands available under the new Kinkaid Act (Murphy n.d.:18-19).

Czech Settlements Near NIMI

Some of the first Czech settlers in Nebraska settled in counties other than those within the NIMI region. Between 1856 and 1916, some 5,000 Czech immigrants settled permanently in Nebraska (Svoboda 1976:153; 1993:109).

Near NIMI, however, one of the first *en masse* moves, occurred when more than 800 Czech settlers arrived in Knox County, Nebraska, in 1869. By 1938, Verdigre, a town in Knox County, was the center of Czech settlement in the region with some 90 percent of its inhabitants being of Czech descent (Van Hoff 1938:2). Another group made up almost entirely of "Freethinkers" settled in Pishelville (USDI 1981). Most of these expeditions were prearranged through the Czech colonization clubs in Chicago. The Niobrara colony was established in 1870. This settlement was successful until floods in 1880-1881 forced it to be moved. In 1978 the town was moved a second time due to more flooding; only remnants remained. Other towns established by Czech immigrants in Knox County include: Armstrong, Bloomfield, Creighton, Crofton, Dukeville, Jelen, Knoxville, Ruth, Sparta, Verdel, Walnut, and Wineetoon (Ku era and Nová ek 1967:106).

Additional settlements include the following towns in their respective counties: (Some of the spellings used here are different from the spellings used by Ku era and Nová ek 1967)

Boyd County:	Butte, Gross, Lynch, Monowi, Naper, Spencer;
Cedar County:	Coleridge, Hartington;
Cherry County:	Crookston, Eli, Kilgore, Nenzel, Wood Lake;
Dixon County:	Newcastle;
Rock County:	Bassett;
Keya Paha County:	Carns, Norden, Pekin;
Holt County:	O'Neill, Atkinson, Stuart, Dorsey,

134 One of the first Czech colonies in South Dakota was
135 established in 1869 just west of the territorial capital city of
136 Yankton. By 1914 Czech settlements had expanded into western
137 Yankton County, eastern Bon Homme County, and, later, Charles Mix
138 and Gregory counties (USDI 1981). Other Czech settlements
139 include i kov, Tábor, Tyndall, Lesterville, and Lakeport
140 (Rosický 1929; Ku era and Nová ek 1967). By 1930 the Czechs made
141 up approximately 1.5 percent of the total state population, a
142 relatively small proportion when compared to other states where
143 Czechs settled (USDI 1981). Among these numerous Czech
144 settlements, Lakeport and Tábor, located in Yankton and Bon Homme
145 counties, are particularly important with respect to the Czech
146 presence in the NIMI region.

147 During the summer of 1869, the vanguard of a fairly heavy
148 Bohemian immigration arrived in the locality of Lakeport,
149 seven miles west of Yankton along the Fort Randall military
150 road. These settlers were identified with a colonization
151 society formed in Chicago and eastern cities to establish
152 Czech colonies in western states and territories. They were
153 soon joined by compatriots who began to occupy claims from
154 Lakeport west into Bon Homme County. The first trading
155 center was iřkov [sic], established in 1870. Tabor,
156 established two years later, eventually became the center of
157 the Czech settlement. (Schell 1975:116)

158 Tábor, South Dakota, organized in 1872, served as the center
159 for Czech immigration and has remained an important Czech
160 community. The residents of Tábor continue to promote Czech
161 traditions through Czech language instruction, ethnic festivals,
162 and sponsorship of trips to the "Czech Lands" (USDI 1981).

163 *Czech Societies and Fraternal Organizations*

164 Many fraternal, religious, and economic organizations were
165 formed by Czech immigrants in the United States as a way of
166 reinforcing their identity and cultural solidarity. These have
167 been one of the primary means by which Czech language and customs
168 have been preserved over more than a century.

169 The Czech immigrants who established themselves in Nebraska
170 and South Dakota were largely agrarian. Equipped with excellent
171 agricultural skills they had learned as peasant farmers in the
172 "Czech lands", they flourished and became model farmers
173 throughout Nebraska and South Dakota (Murphy n.d.:32). Even so,
174 homesteading in the Plains provided great contrast to life in the
175 "Czech Lands." The farmsteads in the "Czech Lands" were
176 clustered into small villages comprised of cottages, whereas they
177 lived on isolated family farms on the Plains (Kuták 1970:9-10).
178 As a result, their whole concept of community changed. This

isolation and their innate skepticism of formalized religion and secret societies resulted in the organization of numerous open Czech sodalities. Some did, however, practice the formal Protestant or Catholic faiths while most professed themselves "Freethinkers" (Garver 1980), who believed in God but rejected the testimony of revelation and would not conform to formalized, authoritative religion because of the persecution they suffered in their homelands (Dubovický 1993:197-201). Two of the "freethinking" fraternal and social organizations were the *esko-Slovanský Podporující Spolek* (SPS) and the *Západní esko Bratrská Jednota* (Z BJ) (USDI 1993). Among the other societies they organized were civic organizations, self-improvement societies, temperance unions, and reading circles, all of which worked to promote the understanding of Czechs in America, to preserve the Czech heritage, language, and traditions, and to supplement the activities of local religious organizations (Schell 1961:184).

Among the first Czech lodges to be established in the United States were the *esko-Slovanský Podporující Spolek* (SPS) also known as the Czech-Slovonic Protective Society, and the *Západní esko Bratrská Jednota* (Z BJ), or the Western Bohemian Fraternal Union. Together, these two organizations were comprised of hundreds of lodges throughout the United States (Hrbková 1919:147; Svoboda 1976:159). The Czech-Slovonic Protective Society, a fraternal lodge, was established in St. Louis in 1854 to offer inexpensive insurance protection to its members (Láska 1978:13). This society flourished until its members in the western states were dissatisfied with the high costs due to benefits being paid to industrial workers in the east, resulting in the Western Bohemian Fraternal Association being organized in 1897 in Omaha, Nebraska (Rosický 1929:356). Today, this organization is the Western Fraternal Life Insurance Association, which offers life insurance to anyone who will pay the premiums. The Association also promotes and supports Czech festivals and events nationwide (Joseph Svoboda, Lincoln, Nebraska, personal communication, 1993). In 1876 the Czech Farmers Mutual Aid Society in Nebraska was formed to provide insurance against damage to crops. The first and only society of its kind in the state of Nebraska (Pavou ek 1967:306), it originated in Dodge County under Joseph Hanzl and existed until 1893, playing an extremely important role in the lives of Nebraska Czech settlers. This organization, as well as the above mentioned organizations, offered life and illness insurance to Czech immigrants who, because they were not fluent in English, were not allowed to join English-speaking insurance organizations (Rosický 1929:351-352; Svoboda 1976:159).

The *Sokols* (meaning falcon), were nonprofit gymnastics organizations joined by virtually all Czech people until they reached age 30. The first *Sokol* organization in the United States was formed in St. Louis in 1865. *Sokol* halls and

229 fraternal lodges housed many cultural events (e.g. gymnastics
230 shows, plays, dances, drama, singing circles, town meetings). A
231 primary slogan for Sokol has been "A sound mind in a sound body"
232 (Pavou ek 1967:299).

233 The Reading and Benevolent Society, organized in 1873,
234 promoted the Czech language and Czech cultural traditions. It
235 was disbanded in 1875, but transferred its funds to the Klicpera
236 Dramatic Club which was organized in 1874 in Omaha, Nebraska
237 (Ku era 1979:13).

238 The Czechs brought with them a deep and rich dedication to
239 their native Czech traditions which can still today be seen in
240 their music, drama, dancing, gymnastics, etc., all of which were
241 upheld and strengthened through education. High standards in
242 education were of primary importance. The University of Nebraska
243 was the first state university in the United States to establish
244 a department of Czech; this was accomplished in 1907 (Ku era and
245 Nová ek 1976:55). A Comenius Club was founded through the
246 university in the early 1900s to further promote Czech cultural
247 heritage in communities throughout the country. By 1918 there
248 were some 29 clubs in a six state area, 13 of which were in
249 Nebraska. The organization's name is derived from Jan Amos
250 Komenský (Comenius), a world-renowned teacher (Ku era and Nová ek
251 1976:21, 55, 61-63; Šašková-Pierce 1993:211).

252 The Czech dedication to drama, singing, and dance can be
253 seen through their promotion of countless theatrical activities
254 throughout the country. A stage for theatrical activity was
255 built in almost every Czech Hall, which were found in every Czech
256 settlement. Halls with stages can still be found today in towns
257 throughout Nebraska settled by Czechs (e.g., Niobrara and
258 Verdigre). The Czech Heritage Preservation Society, Inc., was
259 organized in Tábor, Nebraska, in 1961 to perform plays throughout
260 Nebraska (Míla Šašková-Pierce, Department of Modern Languages,
261 University of Nebraska-Lincoln, personal communication, 1993).
262 The most popular Czech drama today is the "Pageant of the Czech
263 People" (Ku era 1979:17), and the Czech national dance, the
264 Beseda, is still performed to celebrate their heritage at annual
265 "Czech Days" celebrations in Tábor, South Dakota (Richards
266 1981:260), and elsewhere.

267 There are local Czech lodges that are no longer active like
268 the Lodge Hall Sladovský in Pishelville (established in 1884),
269 but many of the Czech lodges throughout Nebraska and South Dakota
270 are still active (Joseph Svoboda, Lincoln, Nebraska, personal
271 communication, 1993). Near the NIMI region in South Dakota, are
272 the following Czech Halls:

273	Hv zda Západu No. 41	- Tábor
274	Star of South Dakota	- Utica
275	Pravda No. 80	- Tyndall

276 Svornost Vlastenců No. 81 - Wagner
 277 Dakostský Rolník No. 148 - Geddes
 278 Vesmír No. 162 - Gregory
 279 Winner No. 237 - Winner
 280 echů Vít zství No. 253 - Hamill
 281 South Dakota No. 294 - Colome

282 Near the NIMI region in Nebraska, are the following Halls:

283 Bílá Hora No. 5 - Verdigre
 284 Vyšehrad No. 53 - Niobrara
 285 Karlín Jr. No. 342 - Spencer
 286 Sladkovský No. 8 - Verdigre
 287 Lipany No. 56 - Lynch

288 In addition to activities sponsored by the local lodges, the
 289 Western Fraternal Life Association sponsors over 20 festivals
 290 annually in Nebraska (Míla Šašková-Pierce, Department of Modern
 291 Languages, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, personal
 292 communication, 1993). Through these festivals, the Czech people
 293 have an opportunity to share some of their traditional Czech
 294 foods. Among the favorite Czech dishes are "duck, dumplings,
 295 kraut and kolacky (a Bohemian tart, fruit-filled pastry),
 296 bologna, wieners, roast pork, poppyseed rolls, rye bread, apple
 297 strudel and housky (a braided Bohemian bread)" (Rood 1985:77).

298 Finally, in towns like Tábor and Verdigre, remnants of
 299 abandoned Czech lifeways and economic pursuits can be found
 300 (i.e., buildings associated with brick making, creameries, cigar
 301 factories, blacksmith shops, printing shops, barber shops,
 302 theaters, employment by railroads, fraternal lodges, etc.) (see
 303 Verdigre Diamond Jubilee, Inc. 1962).

304 The town of Verdigre is a representative example of Czech
 305 ethnic heritage and culture, as many vernacular structures remain
 306 that are reminiscent of the Czech people. The Verdigre flour
 307 mill, built in 1890, has been moved from its original place near
 308 the Niobrara River into the center of Verdigre where it has been
 309 well preserved. The Bílá Hora Lodge, also known as the Z BJ
 310 Opera House (established 1903) in downtown Verdigre, sponsors
 311 annual events, monthly meetings, county-wide activities, and more
 312 (Dobry 1987). Traditional card games like Darda and Taroky are
 313 still played by some of the male elders in the community of
 314 Verdigre. The Verdigre brass band still plays traditional Czech
 315 arrangements each Wednesday night in the town park. "Kolache
 316 (Kolá ky) Days" events each July include a queen selection,
 317 alumni gathering, parade, carnival, dance, music, etc., all of
 318 which are traditional Czech events. The women of Verdigre keep
 319 active in numerous organizations, including sewing clubs which
 320 are organized through the county extension office. Some of them
 321 also bake home-made kolaches (Kolá ky) to sell in local Verdigre
 322 shopping marts. The Verdigre Heritage Museum houses literature

and photographs on Czech history and artifacts of Czech culture, past and present. In addition, the Upper Missouri Chamber of Commerce (including the counties of Antelope, Knox, Pierce, and Holt) is working to promote the conservation of "ethnic identity" through grants to communities to develop their own heritage preservation projects (Ron Dobry, Verdigre, Nebraska, personal communication, 1993). The citizens of Verdigre are attempting to further promote the Czech heritage through Czech language workshops, local and national Czech publications, improved employment opportunities with local industries that might keep youth in the area, and the like (Jack Kotrouš, Verdigre, Nebraska, personal communication, 1993).

In conclusion, there are extant physical remains (historical places) of the Czech presence throughout the NIMI region. Some of these have been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places, while others are under consideration for the Register as they are considered potentially eligible properties (see Franklin, Grant, and Hunt 1994; Gilkerson 1989:26, 82, 84; additional current information is available in the State Historic Preservation Offices of Nebraska and South Dakota). The latest comprehensive published list of National Register properties in the nation lists no less than 14 separate properties in Bon Homme County, South Dakota, alone that represent historic Czech folk architecture. Additionally, some 50,000 buildings are listed in the Nebraska Historic Buildings Program, some of which may potentially reflect the historical presence of Czechs (Joni Gilkerson, Nebraska State Historical Society, personal communication, 1993).

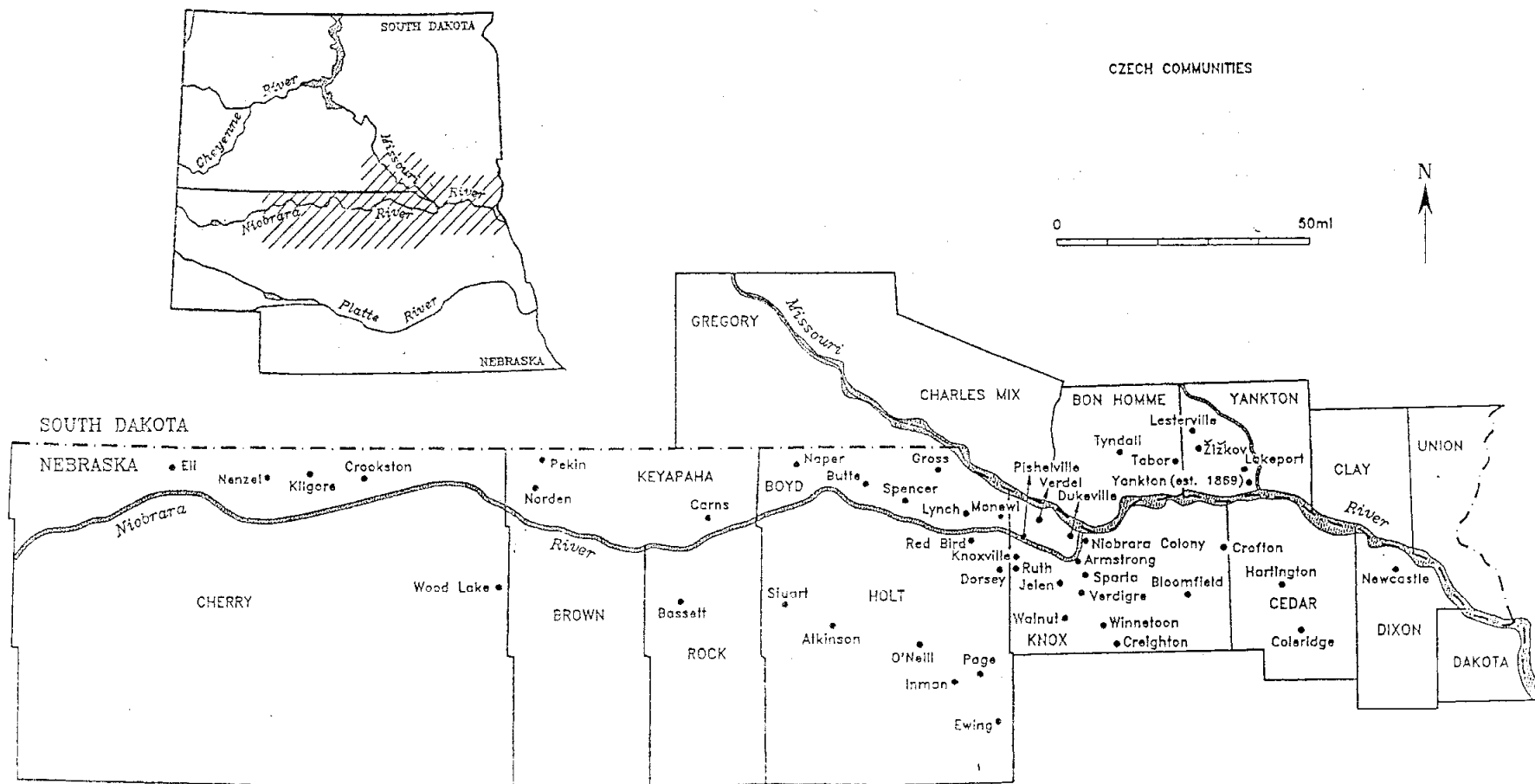
The number of vernacular structures remaining within the region is fairly extensive and includes many privately-owned structures such as farm buildings, homes, churches (Ku era 1974), cemeteries (Ku era and Nová ek 1972), flour mills, lodges, and theaters. An especially notable Czech property is the Pechan Farmstead, in Yankton County, which "represents the best example in the study area of a significant ethnic architectural type, the Czech vernacular house/barn" (USDI 1993:100).

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Nimi CZECH



1 [Last revised: 11 October 1994]

2 CHAPTER 23

3 FRENCH-CANADIANS

4 By Michelle Watson

5 In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries many people
6 of French descent traveled into the Missouri River basin with the
7 advance of Euroamerican exploration westward from the Mississippi
8 River, many working in various capacities in the fur trade
9 (Hartley and Smith 1983). According to the authors of *Dakota*
10 *Panorama*, as quoted from *History of South Dakota* by Herbert S.
11 Schell, "Probably four-fifths of the trappers and hunters [in the
12 fur trade] were of French nationality" (Jennewein and Boorman
13 1961:120).

14 Most of these people had only a transient presence, but in
15 the mid-nineteenth century other people of French descent settled
16 along the Missouri River valley. They were primarily French-
17 Canadians who began to develop small communities in and along the
18 river valley. Their settlements were not purely "French,"
19 however; they were comprised of French, American Indians, and
20 French-Canadians, as well as people of mixed blood (United States
21 Department of Interior [USDI] 1981).

22 The only identified French-Canadian settlement within the
23 NIMI study area is an area known as the "French Settlement" in
24 Union County, South Dakota. It was established in the 1850s by a
25 group of French-Canadian fur traders and farmers (USDI 1981).
26 Some of these original French-Canadians came from the province of
27 Quebec, Canada, and New England (Berthoff 1971:322, 325), while
28 others came either directly from France, the Canadian province of
29 Ontario, or the states of Michigan and Wisconsin (Jennewein and
30 Boorman 1961:121). Before traveling west to the Missouri they
31 established a very successful Roman Catholic settlement in
32 Debuque, Iowa, the location of a large Catholic diocese (Mike
33 Bedeau, South Dakota State Historical Society [SDSHS],
34 Vermillion, personal communication, 1994).

35 Circa 1859 some of these French-Canadian Catholics once
36 again relocated themselves, only this time in the Union County
37 "French Settlement," an area near the present-day community of
38 Jefferson, South Dakota (USDI 1981). This settlement was new;
39 unlike many other Western towns, it had not earlier been a
40 military fort or fur trading post (Jennewein and Boorman
41 1961:121).

42 The first post office of the "French Settlement" was named
43 Willow, later being changed to Adelscat before finally being
44 named Jefferson (USDI 1981). According to Bedeau, these settlers

brought in construction supplies from Sioux City so they did not have to depend upon local resources. Most of the original settlers were land-owning farmers, while a few made at least some of their livelihood by trading pelts until the commercial fur trade declined because of the depletion of fur-bearing animal populations, as well as rapid colonization and homesteading along the Missouri River, which resulted in the founding of Union County in 1862. The "French Settlement" is said to have contained 25 French-Canadian and three Irish families (USDI 1981). Today, Jefferson remains one of two communities in South Dakota that has a significant French population (Jennewein and Boorman 1961; Mike Bedeau, SDSHS, Vermillion, personal communication, 1994), the other being Turton in Spike County.

There is only one remaining building in Jefferson that is identified with these French-Canadian settlers, the St. Peter's Catholic Church, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Mike Bedeau, SDSHS, Vermillion, personal communication, 1994). According to the National Register nomination form for the church (USDI 1981):

...the second Catholic church in the territory was a log structure erected at Jefferson in 1862. It was located just to the north of the present St. Peter's Catholic Church...on February 22, 1867, the Catholic residents at Jefferson became the first Catholic mission organized and founded in southern Dakota. (USDI 1981)

In 1869, "the parish obtained the services of a French-speaking Canadian priest, Fr. R. Boucher" (USDI 1981), and during the same year they erected yet another, second church named St. Peter's. It was Father Boucher who responded to the grasshopper plagues of the 1860s and 1870s by arranging, in 1876 (Jennewein and Boorman 1961:122), a 13-mile religious pilgrimage that began at the church cemetery. It extended two miles west of Jefferson to the Montagne farm and six miles north of the church to the Morin farm, returning to the cemetery. Three "Grasshopper Crosses" were erected to mark the triangular route (USDI 1981).

It is unknown where the original crosses are today. The church, however, erected three new crosses in the 1970s approximating the location of the original crosses. Each cross is accompanied by a state historical society highway style marker (Mike Bedeau, SDSHS, Vermillion, personal communication, 1994). The pilgrimages were sporadically continued until 1933, and renewed once again circa 1989 in connection with the South Dakota Centennial Celebration (USDI 1981). The tradition continues as this celebrated pilgrimage is conducted annually around Memorial Day.

The St. Peter's Catholic Church that exists today (the third

of that name in Jefferson) was built in 1891 (USDI 1981). The church eventually served not only French-Canadians, but Irish, Germans, Norwegians, and other ethnic groups as well (USDI 1981). The parish continues to serve a congregation of some 250 families (Rectory Supervisor, St. Peter's Catholic Church, Jefferson, South Dakota, personal communication, 1994), many of whom are descended from the original founders of the community (USDI 1981:3). Even though the church has undergone some changes of interior decor, it continues to retain "most of its original architectural integrity. In excellent condition, it remains a tribute to those French-Canadians who settled the region" (USDI 1981:3).

In conclusion, the "French Settlement" in Union County, South Dakota, is the only area that has been attributed to French-Canadian settlement in or near NIMI. However, there have been no systematic studies done of French-Canadian settlement in either South Dakota or Nebraska, so the possibility exists that other concentrations of French-Canadian-descended people are located in these states (Frederick Luebke, Department of History, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, personal communication, 1994).

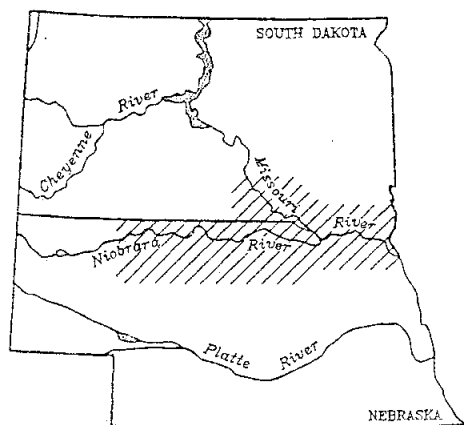
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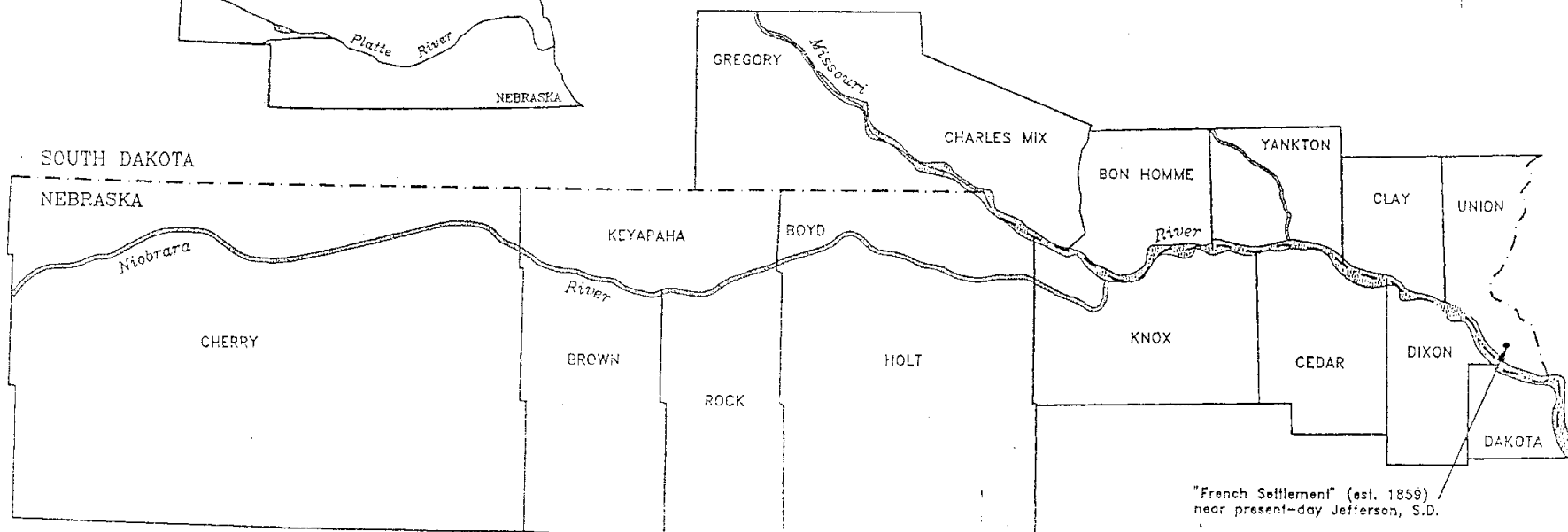
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FRENCH SETTLEMENT

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1 [Last revised: 12 October 1994]

2 CHAPTER 24

3 MORMONS

4 Michelle Watson

5 *Introduction*

6 With the advent of Euro-Americans heading West came various
7 religious sects as well. One religious group historically
8 associated with NIMI is the Mormons who established themselves in
9 "winter quarters" near present-day Vermillion and Niobrara before
10 heading further West toward the Rocky Mountains. The Mormons
11 were first documented in the area in 1846 and are still present
12 within and near NIMI today. Mormons today represent
13 approximately one percent of the total population of the state of
14 South Dakota (over 7,700 members) and approximately just under
15 one percent of the total population of the state of Nebraska
16 (some 14,000 members) (Michael Hunter, The Church of Jesus Christ
17 of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, personal
18 communication, 1993).

19 The Mormons are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of
20 Latter-day Saints, founded in New York State in 1830 by Joseph
21 Smith (1805-1844), at the completion of his translation of the
22 *Book of Mormon* (Hinckley 1979:29). Mormons today are largely
23 located in Utah. Their impact within NIMI is difficult to
24 determine as there are no particular traditional Mormon
25 settlement patterns. The following is a brief account of their
26 history, journey, and their settlement, however brief and
27 limited, in and near the NIMI study area.

28 *History*

29 Fleeing religious persecution, some of Smith's followers,
30 migrated westward, establishing themselves in 1831 in Kirtland,
31 Ohio, where one of the first Mormon temples was built (Hinckley
32 1979:29). Mormonism continued to grow and spread into Missouri
33 and Illinois with the church, or Zion, headquarters being
34 relocated to Independence, Missouri.

35 In 1844, Smith's arrest was forced by antipolygamist
36 Mormons, and while he was being held in jail he was murdered by a
37 mob (Jones 1971:120; Bennett 1985; Arrington 1992). It is likely
38 that the persecution of polygamy-practicing Mormons was fueled by
39 their prosperity and political power, by their self-assurance,
40 and by their practice of polygyny.

41 After Smith's death, Mormonism continued under the

42 leadership of Brigham Young who led an exodus of Mormons to Utah
43 during the period of 1846-1847, and successfully sent
44 missionaries to bring converts to Salt Lake City. The migrations
45 of the converts were basically successful but not without
46 suffering hardships on the journey to Utah (Hafen and Hafen
47 1960). During these migrations, some of the Mormons established
48 winter quarters in and near the NIMI study area under the
49 leadership of James Emmet and Newel Knight.

50 Mormons at Fort Vermillion, 1845-1846

51 The first of two Mormon settlements in what is now South
52 Dakota was a camp of some 90 to 130 Mormons under the leadership
53 of James Emmet, one of the Twelve Apostles of the Mormon Council.
54 After the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, Emmet directed this
55 expedition from Illinois in search of a new settlement away from
56 persecution. They made camp at Fort Vermillion, an American Fur
57 Company trading post on the Missouri ten miles below the mouth of
58 the Vermillion River, between 1845 and 1846. A post of declining
59 economic importance to the American Fur Company, Fort Vermillion
60 was described as "a very miserable little place" by one visitor
61 in 1843, two years prior to the Mormons' arrival (Sunder
62 1965:65). According to one authority, Emmet acted without the
63 church's authority (Bennett 1985:220), but according to another
64 source (Jones 1971), this expedition was deliberately sent by
65 Young to establish good relations with Native Americans; they
66 were to keep their intentions quiet from other Anglo-Saxon
67 immigrants along the way (Jones 1971:123-124). Authorized or
68 not, the expedition went forward. Upon arrival in Vermillion
69 they were met by traders and Native Americans who escorted them
70 to the trading post, Fort Vermillion, where they stayed until the
71 next spring. While there, they established friendly relations
72 with the Pawnee and the Ponca (Bennett 1985) despite warnings to
73 fall back within the boundaries of Missouri by Thomas H. Harvey,
74 Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis (Jones 1971:128).
75 In the spring of 1846 the camp received its final instruction to
76 join other Saints traveling down the Missouri toward the Salt
77 Lake valley from Illinois and Iowa, thus leaving behind Fort
78 Vermillion.

79 Mormons at the Ponca Village near Niobrara, 1846-1847

80 During the winter of 1846-1847, the Mormons had another
81 experience within NIMI while on their journey West out of Nauvoo,
82 Illinois (Rich 1972:83-96). In late July, 1846, a large party of
83 Mormons were established in a main camp near present-day Omaha,
84 Nebraska, and Council Bluffs, Iowa; it became known as "Winter
85 Quarters." In this same area there were numerous camps made; the
86 entire area became known as the "Saints' Communities" (Rich
87 1972:88--see map).

88 One of these camps was under the leadership of Bishop George

89 Miller and Newel Knight, high councillor and one of the Church's
90 earliest baptized members, respectively. It was on August 7 that
91 they received word from church leaders to make winter quarters
92 near the Pawnee Village on the Platte River and continue the
93 journey West in the spring (Rich 1972:84). While encamped at
94 Pawnee Station (near present-day Columbus or Genoa), the party
95 was invited by visiting Ponca Indians to winter with them at the
96 mouth of the Niobrara River (Fry 1922:5). Consequently, the
97 Knight party (some 65 families and 150-160 wagons) did not make
98 camp at the Pawnee Village but traveled north to the Niobrara
99 River rather than taking the more southerly route along the North
100 Platte (Bennett 1987:151). They were the first "Saints" to leave
101 the camp at Council Bluffs (Mangum 1993), eventually settling
102 temporarily near the Ponca near present-day Niobrara, Nebraska
103 (Jenson 1914):

104 On August 9, the Saints held a council with a number of
105 Ponca Indians for the purpose of helping the Poncas
106 make peace with the Pawnees, with whom the Poncas had
107 been at war and whom they expected to find there. The
108 Ponca chief invited the Saints to winter with them in
109 their country. . . the council accepted the invitation.
110 (Rich 1972:85)

111 The Ponca camp, the so-called "Gray-blanket" village which
112 was home to one of two divisions of the Ponca tribe, was located
113 on the Niobrara River about three miles from its confluence with
114 the Missouri River, approximately two miles west and three miles
115 south of the present-day town of Niobrara (Howard 1965:21, 29,
116 138). The Mormons and the Poncas enjoyed a peaceful and
117 cooperative relationship, and the Saints, called "Monmona" by the
118 Poncas, are fondly remembered in Ponca traditional history
119 (Howard 1965:21, 29-30). The Mormons built a fort of log cabins
120 and Knight, a millwright by trade, chiseled mill burrs out of
121 boulders to grind corn (Anonymous n.d.; Knight 1940:17; Niobrara
122 Bicentennial Committee 1976:5-6).

123 In addition to building a fort, the Mormons have been given
124 credit by some for digging the "Mormon Canal." This mile-long
125 canal, which still carries water, runs along the west edge of the
126 Niobrara River and is today marked by road signs just outside of
127 the town of Niobrara:

128 Bishop Miller, leader of the group, prophesied that if
129 they would build a canal and be faithful in planting
130 their crops, they would have so much grain by the time
131 they left that they would not be able to haul it all
132 off. The prophecy was fulfilled, and their
133 accomplishments were great. Today, 1944, fresh water
134 runs in the canal which they built. (Anonymous n.d.)

135 However, scholars who have researched Newel Knight and his stay

among the Ponca indicate that there is no solid evidence that the Mormons built this canal (Fry 1922:6). They suggest instead that the canal name was simply borrowed from the fact of the Mormons' historical visit to the vicinity (Michael Hunter, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, personal communication, 1993).

As the winter progressed for the Newel Knight party during 1846 and 1847, he and sixteen others died (Fry 1922:5; Hartley 1986:178). Their sickness is blamed on an enormous prairie fire that broke out on Christmas Day eve resulting in the exposure and overwork of members of the camp, several of whom were thus interred in lumber coffins at Ponca adjacent to the Niobrara River (Rich 1972:86-87). At the instruction of church elders, the Mormon party returned to Florence, Nebraska (near Omaha), in the spring of 1847, with travel directions furnished by their friends, the Poncas (Fry 1922:6; Howard 1965:30). They resumed their westward trek the following spring (Fry 1922:6).

In 1908 a monument to their memory was erected at the site of the Ponca Gray-blanket village two miles west and three miles south of Niobrara along the Niobrara River (Howard 1965:29, 138). Isaac Riddle, just a young boy at the time the Knight party wintered with the Ponca, was later sent from Provo, Utah, to Niobrara to locate any physical remains of the camp (Fry 1922). Some graves were found but most had been obliterated. The mill burrs Knight chiseled were never located but ashes from fireplaces that were once in the fort barracks were discovered (Fry 1922:5; Knight 1940:18). Subsequently, in 1908 the monument was dedicated by relatives of the Knight family. It stands several feet tall and bears the names of eleven of the Mormons who were interred there during the winter of 1846-1847 (Ballard 1909:896; Hartley 1986:178).

The Newel Knight Monument is today owned by the Mormon Church in Utah and maintained by the local branch in Yankton which is overseen by the Mormon Church Historical Sites Office in Independence, Missouri (Michael Hunter, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, personal communication, 1993).

Church Doctrine

The Mormon Church began in 1830 when Joseph Smith completed his translation of the Book of Mormon. It was also Smith, at Nauvoo, Illinois in 1842, who publicly announced the doctrine of polygamy; the practice of polygamy was practiced and sanctioned by the Mormon Church between 1852 and 1890 (Hinckley 1979:129-135).

The early Mormon Church doctrine diverged from Christian Orthodoxy in its polytheism, in its affirmation that God evolved

182 from man and that men might evolve into gods, and in its belief
183 in the eternal transmigration of souls. Today, The Church of
184 Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints continues to hold firmly to the
185 same organization that existed in the early church, that of
186 apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc. They
187 follow the tenets of the Book of Mormon, accept the evolutionary
188 conceptions of deity and of polytheism, and practice tithing
189 (giving of money) and baptism (Hinckley 1982).

190 The practice of adult baptism by immersion occurs at age
191 eight in a Mormon chapel (stake center or meeting house); anyone
192 baptized after age eight is considered a convert to Mormonism.
193 Baptism symbolizes one's faith, purity, and eternal life (Michael
194 Hunter, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,
195 Historical Department, personal communication, 1993).

196 Proxy baptism is practiced to baptize church members who
197 become deceased before they are baptized; this takes place in a
198 Mormon Temple. Other ordinances or rituals that take place after
199 baptism are laying on of hands, washing, anointing, endowments,
200 and sealing ceremonies. These rituals in Mormon Faith support
201 the well-organized patriarchal priesthoods and extend strong
202 allegiances (Michael Hunter, The Church of Jesus Christ of
203 Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, personal communication,
204 1993).

205 *Church Organization*

206 The Mormon Church, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
207 Saints, is a hierarchical organization in which exists a
208 patriarchal system of church government controlled by priests and
209 other clergy in graded ranks. The Mormon Church has one
210 president (the prophet), who is advised by two counsellors; these
211 three men make up the first presidency of the Mormon Church.
212 Under them are 12 apostles, and under the apostles are two
213 quorums of seventy priests each (these quorums serve as the
214 general authorities of the church worldwide). The members of the
215 first quorum serve for life and the members of the second quorum
216 serve five-year terms each.

217 The order is further organized into regions, stakes, and
218 wards or branches. Within the world regions there are "stakes"
219 which are symbolic of stakes in a tent; the "stakes" represent
220 regional central headquarters of the Mormon Church, and
221 symbolically support the Church just as tent stakes support a
222 large tent (Michael Hunter, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-
223 day Saints, Historical Department, personal communication, 1993).

224 At the local level the Church "stakes" are further divided
225 into wards or branches, within which are found the meeting houses
226 (also known as stake centers or chapels, each of which may have a
227 kitchen, gymnasium, meeting rooms, and a chapel).

228 The Mormon "stakes" that encompass the wards and branches in
229 the NIMI study area are the Sioux Falls, South Dakota, Stake, and
230 the Kearney, Nebraska, Stake. Under the Sioux Falls Stake there
231 are thirteen wards or branches encompassing parts of Nebraska,
232 South Dakota, and Iowa: Brookings Ward, Huron Ward, Sioux City
233 Ward, Sioux Falls 1st Ward, Sioux Falls 2nd Ward, Macy Branch,
234 Madison Branch, Marshall Branch, Spencer Branch, St. Lawrence
235 Branch, Wagner Branch, Watertown Branch, and the Yankton Branch.
236 The O'Neill Branch in Holt County, Nebraska, falls under the
237 Kearney Stake. Additionally, if membership within a geographical
238 region is minimal, then a stake will not be established; missions
239 are organized instead. Under the Rapid City, South Dakota,
240 Mission is the Rosebud, South Dakota, District, under which are
241 the Gregory Branch, and the Valentine, Nebraska, Branch (Michael
242 Hunter, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,
243 Historical Department, personal communication, 1993).

244 All Church "stakes" are under the leadership of a stake
245 president, who works with two counsellors and one bishop. Under
246 this organization, and through the church's elaborate welfare
247 plan, the life of the individual Mormon (religious, economic, and
248 social) is closely regulated. The hierarchy meets at the General
249 World Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day
250 Saints held annually each April and again at a semi-annual
251 conference held each October. In addition, regional "stakes" and
252 local wards hold conferences which meet at different times
253 throughout the year.

254 Ancillary organizations like sunday schools, women's relief
255 societies, mutual improvement associations, and missionary work
256 programs are undertaken by Church members to ensure a wide
257 distribution of responsibility and involvement for all members.
258 Men serve as missionaries for two years, women can serve for 1.5
259 years, and older couples can choose to serve as missionaries for
260 1.5 years. The missionaries cover a different geographic area
261 than the "stakes" or wards do. Missions are designed to serve
262 worldwide and in areas where there is not an established church
263 (i.e., stake), or where there is high population density. Men
264 become deacons at age twelve, teachers at age fourteen, priests
265 at age sixteen, and elders at age eighteen. After this they may
266 eventually become high priests and bishops. Because the
267 priesthood is a patriarchy no women may take part.

268 Women can serve the Church through participation in relief
269 societies, by teaching sunday school, by becoming teachers, or by
270 serving as missionaries for the Church; men participate in all of
271 the above as well. Basically, the status of the individuals is
272 widely diffused while the hierarchy is clear; all is equally
273 under the authority of the church.

274 Conclusion

275 In conclusion, the Mormon impact within the NIMI study area
276 is difficult to determine as there are no traditional settlement
277 patterns and no communities or settlements of Mormons exist
278 today. The Mormon Church owns the Mormon Monument near Niobrara,
279 and Mormons currently make up a portion of the populations of
280 Nebraska and South Dakota. The Sioux Falls, South Dakota, Stake
281 is one of the largest stakes in the country with respect to
282 geography (not population), encompassing land in South Dakota,
283 Nebraska, Iowa, and Minnesota (Michael Hunter, The Church of
284 Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department,
285 personal communication, 1993).

286 The current president of the Sioux Falls, South Dakota,
287 Stake, David Rope, resides in Iowa (Michael Hunter, The Church of
288 Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department,
289 personal communication, 1993). The South Dakota Rapid City
290 Mission is responsible for recruitment of new members and for
291 providing welfare and guidance for existing members. The
292 Mission's address is 2525 West Main, Suite 311, Rapid City, South
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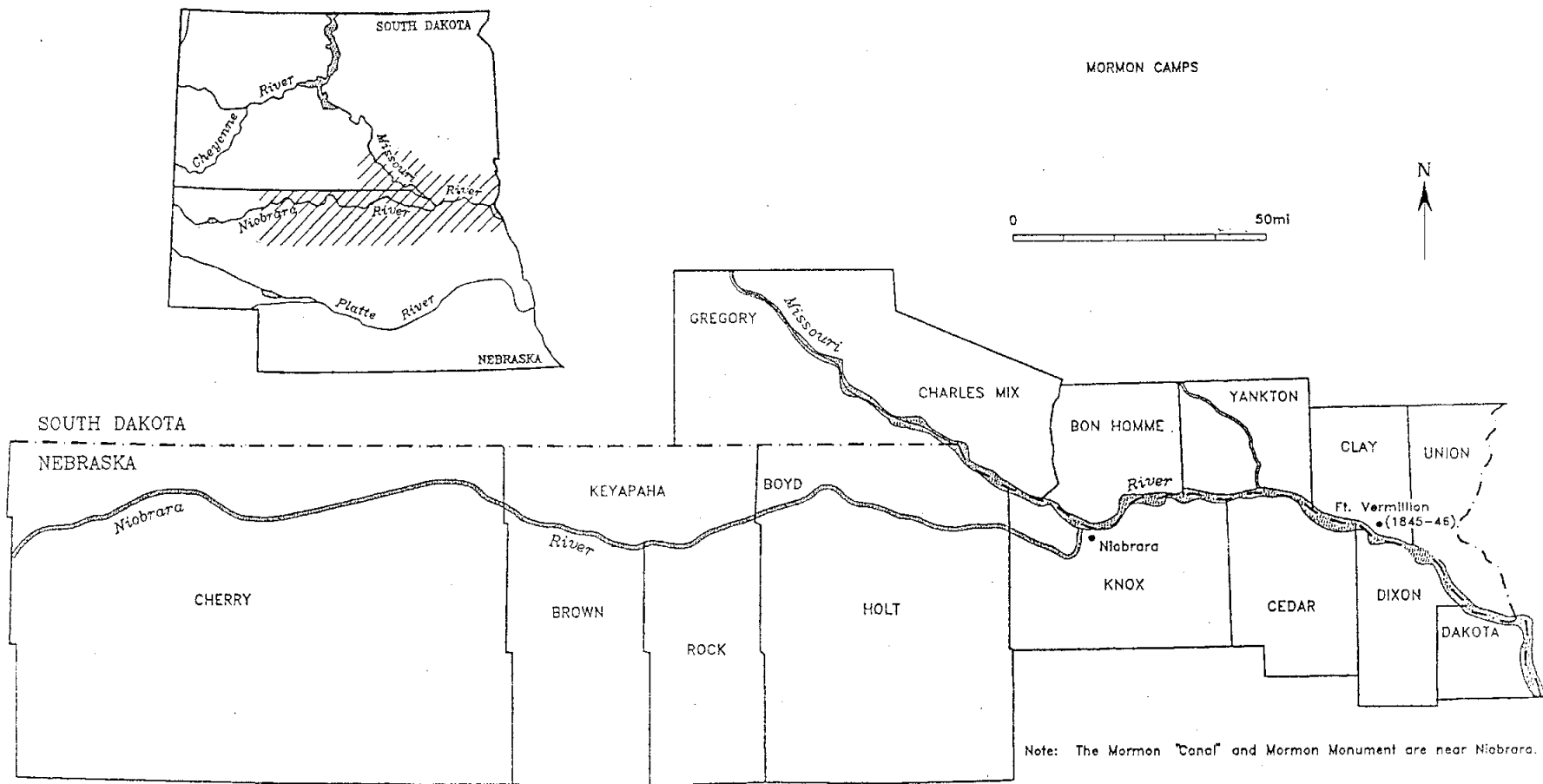
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2 CHAPTER 25

3 SCANDINAVIANS

4 By Michelle Watson

5 *Introduction*

6 The Scandinavians who immigrated to and settled in present-
7 day Nebraska and South Dakota, were primarily seeking economic
8 prosperity. They immigrated directly from Norway, Sweden, and
9 Denmark, many via temporary residence in the eastern United
10 States. As they established themselves in Nebraska and South
11 Dakota, they created some distinct and diverse ethnic enclaves,
12 some of which are within and adjacent to NIMI.

13 The origination point of these people was Scandinavia, a
14 northern European region comprised of five small nations that
15 share largely interrelated histories. Those nations are Norway,
16 Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland. For the purposes of this
17 study, however, immigration from Scandinavia will refer only to
18 immigration from the nations of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.
19 Icelanders and Finns are not addressed, primarily because their
20 immigration to Nebraska and South Dakota has been minimal.

21 *Reasons for Emigration from Scandinavia*

22 The earliest Scandinavians to immigrate to the United States
23 were prompted by religious dissatisfaction in the "old country:"
24 the Norwegians began to immigrate in 1825, the Swedes in the
25 1840s, and the Danes in the 1850s (Derry 1979:231).

26 While religious dissatisfaction prompted some Scandinavians
27 to emigrate, others emigrated because they were living in near
28 impoverishment for a variety of reasons. Poor harvests resulted
29 in famines (Ostergren 1983:57; Lowell 1987). The traditional
30 practice of primogeniture caused additional economic stress among
31 the younger generations (Jennewein and Boorman 1961:137). Land
32 was already scarce and early marriages resulting in larger
33 families only further contributed to restricted economic
34 opportunities and increased land pressures throughout Scandinavia
35 (Dowie 1973:48). Thus, the culmination of these factors resulted
36 in decreased employment opportunities in virtually all primary
37 activities (e.g., forestry, fishing, agriculture) causing high
38 rates of emigration (Lowell 1987).

39 By the mid-nineteenth century, thousands of Scandinavians
40 were immigrating to the United States and elsewhere primarily in
41 search of economic opportunity and prosperity (Berthoff

1971:318), the majority of them being Norwegians (Lowell 1987). Between 1865 and 1870 one out of every ten immigrants to the United States was Scandinavian. In 1881 and again in 1901, five out of every ten immigrants to the United States were Scandinavian (Derry 1979:255).

In their homelands, the Scandinavians were "divided into several homogeneous regions and districts" (Lowell 1987:230). Their settlement in the United States resembled these traditional settlement patterns, as they formed rather large and stable homogeneous communities (Ostergren 1983).

However, during the Dakota boom times of the 1880s and the early 1900s, the religious and cultural homogeneity of these Scandinavian settlements began to decline as the children of earlier immigrant families moved to urban areas where employment opportunities were more abundant; in South Dakota there were insufficient opportunities due to mass immigration in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Ostergren 1983). By the 1950s, the religious and cultural homogeneity of the more than 12,000,000 Americans of Scandinavian descent had disappeared. These people rapidly assimilated and are today difficult to distinguish from other ethnic groups (Furer 1972:83, 84).

Norwegian Immigration and Settlement Patterns

Norway was the greatest contributor of immigrants from Scandinavia: "Norway has sent a larger per cent of its population to America than any other country excepting Ireland" (Norlie 1925:73). Norwegian colonizers were sailing for the United States prior to 1850, but it was not until 1859 that the first Norwegian settlers arrived in South Dakota (Norlie 1925:186). The Norwegians comprise the largest immigrant group in that state precluding the French and others who arrived earlier but not in sufficient numbers to be thought of as groups (Jennewein and Boorman 1961:135).

The Norwegians originally settled in the southeastern part of South Dakota in Union, Clay, and Yankton counties and eventually spread into other parts of the state. Some of these settlers came directly from Norway, while most came from the existing Koshkonong Prairie settlements of Wisconsin (a region about 60 miles west of Milwaukee) and settlements in Iowa (Norlie 1925; Ostergren 1983:66). It was in Union county that two extensive Norwegian settlements developed, "one extending from the Big Sioux crossing at Sioux City to Elk Point, the other located along Brule Creek farther up the Sioux Valley" (Schell 1975:78). Norwegian communities also sprang up near Yankton, Vermillion, Elk Point, Clay Creek, and Brule Creek (Ravndal 1924). Another settlement was the Lakes Settlement, now Gayville, northwest of Vermillion in Yankton County.

88 In 1860 there were some 129 Norwegians living in and around
89 Vermillion, South Dakota, and farther up the Missouri River. By
90 1890 there were about 20,000 first-generation Norwegians living
91 in present-day South Dakota, mostly concentrated in the eastern
92 counties. The Norwegian population for Nebraska at this time
93 (1890) was considerably smaller being only about 3,600 first-
94 generation Norwegians (Norlie 1925:188, 233; Furer 1972:39).
95 According to the NIMI historical overview, there were some
96 Norwegian immigrants at St. Helena, Nebraska, as early as 1859
97 but their presence was predominant in South Dakota (U.S.
98 Department of the Interior (Franklin, Grant, and Hunt 1994).

99 The first published Norwegian newspaper in South Dakota was
100 the *Folkstidende* published at Sioux Falls. Other regional
101 Norwegian newspapers were the *Grand Forks Tidende* (established
102 1880) (Furer 1972:54, 55), and the *Syd Dakota Ekko* (1889) also at
103 Sioux Falls (Jennewein and Boorman 1961:268).

104 The first church built by Scandinavians in present-day South
105 Dakota was the Bergen (est. 1866), a Norwegian Evangelical
106 Lutheran congregation located about seven miles north of
107 Vermillion (Ravndal 1924). By 1889 there were 128 Norwegian
108 churches established throughout South Dakota, and by 1926 there
109 were about 259. Norwegian was the primary language used in
110 services until 1935 when "congregations were equally divided
111 between English only and both languages" (Myers 1989:151).

112 Ethnic and social organizations of the Norwegians included
113 the Sons of Norway, the *Bygdelags* (nationalistic Norwegian
114 organizations based on origin from specific valleys or districts
115 in Norway), and the Norwegian Singers Association of America, all
116 of which were formed nationally between 1880 and 1900. Their
117 existence, however, was short-lived, having served as insurance
118 providers and cultural preservation organizations until circa
119 1921 (Jennewein and Boorman 1961:108; Myers 1989:152).

120 The Norwegians are the most extensive Scandinavian ethnic
121 group in southeastern South Dakota, with many of their ethnic
122 communities being encompassed within the NIMI region (Mike
123 Bedeau, South Dakota State Historical Society [SDSHS], personal
124 communication, 1994). However, because of their high degree of
125 assimilation early in the twentieth century, their communities
126 are quite difficult to distinguish from other ethnic communities
127 in the region (Furer 1972).

128 *Swedish Immigration and Settlement in South Dakota*

129 The first Swedish immigrants in the United States settled at
130 Fort Christina, a Swedish colony near present-day Wilmington,
131 Delaware, in 1638 (Alexis 1919:79; Norlie 1925:84). They began
132 to settle west of the Missouri River after 1860, migrating as
133 individuals or as separate families, but generally not in groups,

134 which accounts for their scattered settlement patterns throughout
135 South Dakota and Nebraska. Many of the Nebraska Swedes who
136 settled in or adjacent to the NIMI region came primarily from
137 other areas of Nebraska (Kastrup 1975), while many South Dakota
138 Swedes immigrated directly from Sweden, or from earlier
139 established Swedish settlements in Iowa, Minnesota, and
140 Wisconsin. Much propaganda was generated throughout eastern
141 states by railroad agents, agricultural promoters, and others
142 attempting to lure Scandinavian immigrants into the Dakota region
143 despite a negative image due to climatic extremes and the
144 presence of presumably hostile American Indians (Ostergren
145 1983:59).

146 Some of the earliest Swedish settlements in present-day
147 South Dakota in the early to mid-1860s were located in Union,
148 Minnehaha, and Clay counties. One such settlement was located to
149 the north of Vermillion where a school and cabin had been built
150 by Daniel Peter Brown; according to Kastrup (1975:455), these
151 structures have been preserved, but we have not been able to
152 further document the survival of them.

153 In 1868 many newly arrived Swedish settlers established
154 themselves to the north of Vermillion, in an area that extended
155 some 15 miles along the eastern side of the Vermillion River. By
156 1873 more than 200 claims had been made in an area stretching
157 "from the Vermillion River in the central part of Clay County to
158 the southwestern corner of Lincoln County" (Schell 1975:115,
159 116). This area became known as Dalesburg, formerly Dahlsborg,
160 because many of the original settlers came from the Swedish
161 province of Dalarna. Today, the area is referred to as
162 "Swedefield" by some contemporary writers (Schell 1975:115) and
163 Dalesburg by others.

164 Most of the Swedish settlers at Dalesburg came directly from
165 Europe while others arrived in South Dakota after brief residence
166 in Wisconsin, Minnesota, or Iowa. Those who came directly from
167 Sweden brought with them distinct dialects and architectural
168 construction techniques in the log cabins they built to resemble
169 their cottages in the "old country" (Kastrup 1975:455),
170 contributing greatly to the homogeneous distinction of the
171 Dalesburg area. Their homesteads expanded northward along the
172 creeks where there was sufficient water and timber, although two
173 areas along the Vermillion River known as "Cabbage Flats" and
174 "Vermillion Bottom" were avoided by early settlers because of
175 poor drainage conditions (Ostergren 1980:76).

176 The Swedish settlements within the area of Dalesburg were
177 not unlike other Scandinavian settlements in that they were
178 organized into small homogeneous communities or neighborhoods
179 (Ostergren 1980:90). Their social organization centered upon 1)
180 the common experience of journeying together from Europe to South
181 Dakota, and 2) their religious affiliations. Thus, they were

182 organized around the religious institutions to which they were
183 affiliated, in addition to being socially organized according to
184 which region they immigrated from in Sweden (Ostergren 1980:76,
185 90). Within the settlement area were the Dalesburg Lutheran
186 Church, the Bloomingdale Baptist Church, and the Mission Covenant
187 Church.

188 *Swedes in Nebraska*

189 Swedish immigrants arrived in Nebraska in the early 1860s.
190 By 1890 there were as many as 28,000 Swedish immigrants living in
191 Nebraska (Kastrup 1975:444), but their settlements were small and
192 scattered in comparison to Swedish settlements throughout South
193 Dakota. Thus, their locations are more difficult to distinguish
194 from other ethnic settlements.

195 Over the course of several decades, there were some 17
196 Swedish-language weeklies and periodicals published in Nebraska
197 which served to promote the settlement opportunities that lay
198 west of the Missouri River (Alexis 1919:83; Kastrup 1975;
199 Gilkerson n.d.). The *Hemlandet*, the first regularly published
200 Swedish-language newspaper in the United States, established in
201 Chicago in 1855, advertised land around Wakefield and Wausa
202 (Dowie 1973:58), two of the larger Swedish settlements near the
203 NIMI study area in Nebraska (Gilkerson n.d.).

204 Wakefield, which borders Dixon and Wayne counties, was
205 established in 1881 (Huse 1973:103). Some of Wakefield's
206 earliest Swedish settlers, however, arrived in Dixon County as
207 early as 1869 from Illinois (Trott 1967:21; Holm 1981:3, 4). The
208 town was given its name in honor of a civil engineer of the St.
209 Paul and Sioux City Railroad who had helped survey the region for
210 Scandinavian settlement. The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Salem
211 Church in Wakefield is listed on the National Register of
212 Historic Places (USDI 1983). Another area that remained
213 predominantly Swedish was Concord which was platted in 1883 ten
214 miles to the northwest of Wakefield (Alexis 1919:82).

215 Another successful Swedish settlement was Wausa in Knox
216 County, Nebraska. It was established in 1882 by colonizers from
217 Oakland in Burt County, Nebraska (Kastrup 1975:445). The
218 original name of this settlement was Thorson, being named after
219 the first settler, Theodore Thorson who came from Scandia Grove,
220 Minnesota (Trott 1967:12). In 1885, the name was changed to Vasa
221 in honor of the Swedish king named Gustaf Vasa. Finally, in 1890
222 the name was changed to Wausa, a combination of the king's name
223 and the letters U.S.A., "a tribute to both their new and old
224 country" (Wausa Centennial Book Committee 1990:8).

225 The present-day residents of Wausa continue to celebrate
226 their ethnic heritage by holding an annual Smorgasbord each
227 October, during which they raise funds for county projects and

228 special programs that will help to maintain aspects of their
229 Swedish ethnic heritage (Wausa Centennial Book Committee
230 1990:27).

231 Another, smaller Swedish settlement established in 1888 was
232 Sparks in Cherry County. This settlement was named in honor of
233 the Sparks family who helped found the community. The settlers
234 for the most part lived off the land, making their livelihood by
235 trapping, ranching, and hauling freight for neighbors into
236 Valentine, the nearest trading center. Most of them were
237 eventually bought out by large cattle ranching operations (Empkey
238 1974).

239 Other predominantly Swedish settlements near the NIMI study
240 area are the following in their respective counties:

241	Boyd County	Rosedale (founded 1898)
242		Anoka (1902)
243		Bristow (1891)
244		Baker (1891)
245	Cedar County	Obert (1909)
246		Hartington (1883)
247	Dixon County	Concord (1883)
248	Holt County	Agee (1882-1934)
249	Knox County	Sweden (1872)

250 It should be noted that many of the Swedish settlers in this part
251 of Nebraska immigrated from other parts of the state and not
252 directly from Sweden (Gilkerson n.d.).

253 The Swedish center of social organization in Nebraska was
254 the church. About 140 Swedish churches existed in Nebraska
255 representing the Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, and Evangelical
256 Mission (Covenant) sects. Many of these churches are no longer
257 standing, although a number of associated cemeteries remain
258 (Gilkerson n.d.:16). Through the church, the Swedish language
259 was preserved until it was discontinued and replaced by English
260 circa 1920 (Findlay 1987:24, 25). According to Gilkerson, some
261 Swedish churches in Nebraska were holding all services in Swedish
262 as late as the 1930s (Joni Gilkerson, Nebraska State Historical
263 Society, personal communication, 1994).

264 Two major Swedish organizations in Nebraska include the Vasa
265 Order and the Independent Order of Vikings. The Vasa Order,
266 organized in 1896 in New Haven, Connecticut, was the largest
267 Swedish organization in the United States in 1935, with some
268 70,000 members. Its primary purpose was to provide moral and
269 material support to Swedes and their families and to provide

270 social and intellectual stimulation. The Independent Order of
271 Vikings was organized in 1980 in Chicago to provide insurance and
272 to sponsor a Swedish and English library (Gilkerson n.d.).

273 *Danish Immigration and Settlement*

274 The Danes did not begin to immigrate in large numbers to the
275 United States until after 1880. They were, however, immigrating
276 as early as 1869 from the area of Schleswig, Denmark, and
277 establishing settlements throughout the Midwest. Some of their
278 settlements in South Dakota were much like those of the
279 Norwegians, being made by settlers from "daughter settlements of
280 older midwestern communities" (Ostergren 1983:66).

281 Some of the first Danish settlers in South Dakota, who
282 settled as individual families rather than as communities of
283 people, established themselves at Lakeport and Yankton in Yankton
284 County in 1869. That same year, more Danes established a rural
285 community "along the Clay and Yankton County border" (SDSHS
286 n.d.). This Danish community did not receive a name but "formed
287 the nucleus of Norway Township in Clay County" (Franklin, Grant,
288 and Hunt 1994).

289 Their first congregation was organized in 1880, and their
290 first church, the Trinity Lutheran Church, was built in 1893 and
291 was torn down several years ago (Mike Bedeau, SDSHS, personal
292 communication, 1993). Prior to 1880 Danes as well as Norwegians
293 from this community attended the Bergen Church which was
294 established in 1870 (SDSHS n.d.). This church continues to serve
295 the spiritual needs of both Norwegian and Danish Lutherans in the
296 area (Mike Bedeau, SDSHS, personal communication, 1993). Within
297 their settlement area, they also established a hotel/supply
298 station which served the stage and wagon road from Sioux City to
299 Fort Randall (Franklin, Grant, and Hunt 1994).

300 More Danish settlers arrived in 1872 and settled at Lodi
301 (Wakonda) in Clay County, at Gayville in Yankton County, and at
302 Paris bordering Union and Lincoln counties, which later became
303 known as Beresford. Some of these Danish immigrants arrived
304 directly from Denmark, while many came from Danish settlements
305 established earlier in Wisconsin and elsewhere.

306 Other Danish settlements established within the NIMI study
307 region are in Dakota, Cherry, and Knox counties of Nebraska
308 (Ostergren 1983:66). One of the Danish settlements in Knox
309 County was Winnetoon, established in 1891. Winnetoon's church,
310 the Danish Lutheran Church, was not built until 1914. Due to
311 depression and drought, however, the town did not grow large; few
312 residents reside in Winnetoon today (Graff 1990:165).

313 Other predominantly Danish settlements in Nebraska (Matteson
314 and Matteson 1988), with their respective counties, are:

- 402 Graff, Jane
403 1990 *Nebraska, Our Towns...North Northeast*. Taylor Publishing
404 Co., Dallas, Texas.
- 405 Holm, Lynn
406 1981 *Seedlings in a Shoebox, a History of Wakefield*. Taylor
407 Publishing Co., Dallas, Texas.
- 408 Huse, William
409 1973 *History of Dixon County, Nebraska*. Edited by Earl Hinds.
410 Reprinted by Litho Speed, Inc., Carroll, Nebraska. Originally
411 published 1896, Press of the Daily News, Norfolk, Nebraska.
- 412 Jennewein, J. Leonard and Jane Boorman
413 1961 *Dakota Panorama*. Dakota Territory Centennial Commission,
414 Midwest-Beach Printing Co., Sioux Falls, South Dakota.
- 415 Kastrup, Allan
416 1975 *The Swedish Heritage In America: The Swedish Element in*
417 *America and American Swedish Relations in their Historical*
418 *Perspective*. Swedish Council of America, North Central
419 Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minnesota.
- 420 Lowell, Briant Lindsay
421 1987 *Scandinavian Exodus: Demography and Social Development of*
422 *19th-Century Rural Communities*. Westview Press, Boulder,
423 Colorado.
- 424 Matteson, Jean M. and Edith M. Matteson
425 1988 *Blossoms of the Prairie: The History of the Danish*
426 *Lutheran Churches in Nebraska*. Blossoms of the Prairie, Lincoln,
427 Nebraska.
- 428 Myers, Rex C.
429 1989 *An Immigrant Heritage: South Dakota's Foreign-Born in the*
430 *Era of Assimilation*. *South Dakota History* 19(2):134-155.
- 431 Norlie, Olaf Morgan
432 1925 *History of the Norwegian People In America*. Augsburg
433 Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- 434 Olson, Paul A.
435 1976 *Scandinavians: The Search for Zion*. In *Broken Hoops and*
436 *Plains People: A Catalogue of Ethnic Resources in the*
437 *Humanities: Nebraska and Surrounding Areas*, edited by Paul
438 Olson, pp. 237-290. Nebraska Curriculum Development Center,
439 Lincoln.
- 440 Ostergren, Robert C.
441 1980 *Prairie Bound: Migration Patterns to a Swedish Settlement*
442 *on the Dakota Frontier*. In *Ethnicity on the Great Plains*, edited
443 by Frederick C. Luebke, pp. 73-91. University of Nebraska Press,

444 Lincoln.

445 1983 European Settlement and Ethnicity Patterns on the
446 Agricultural Frontiers of South Dakota. *South Dakota History*
447 13(1 and 2):49-82.

448 Ravndal, G. Bie
449 1924 The Scandinavian Pioneers of South Dakota. *South Dakota*
450 *Historical Collections* 12:297-330. South Dakota State Department
451 of History, Hipple Printing Co., Pierre.

452 Schell, Herbert S.
453 1975 *History of South Dakota*. University of Nebraska Press,
454 Lincoln.

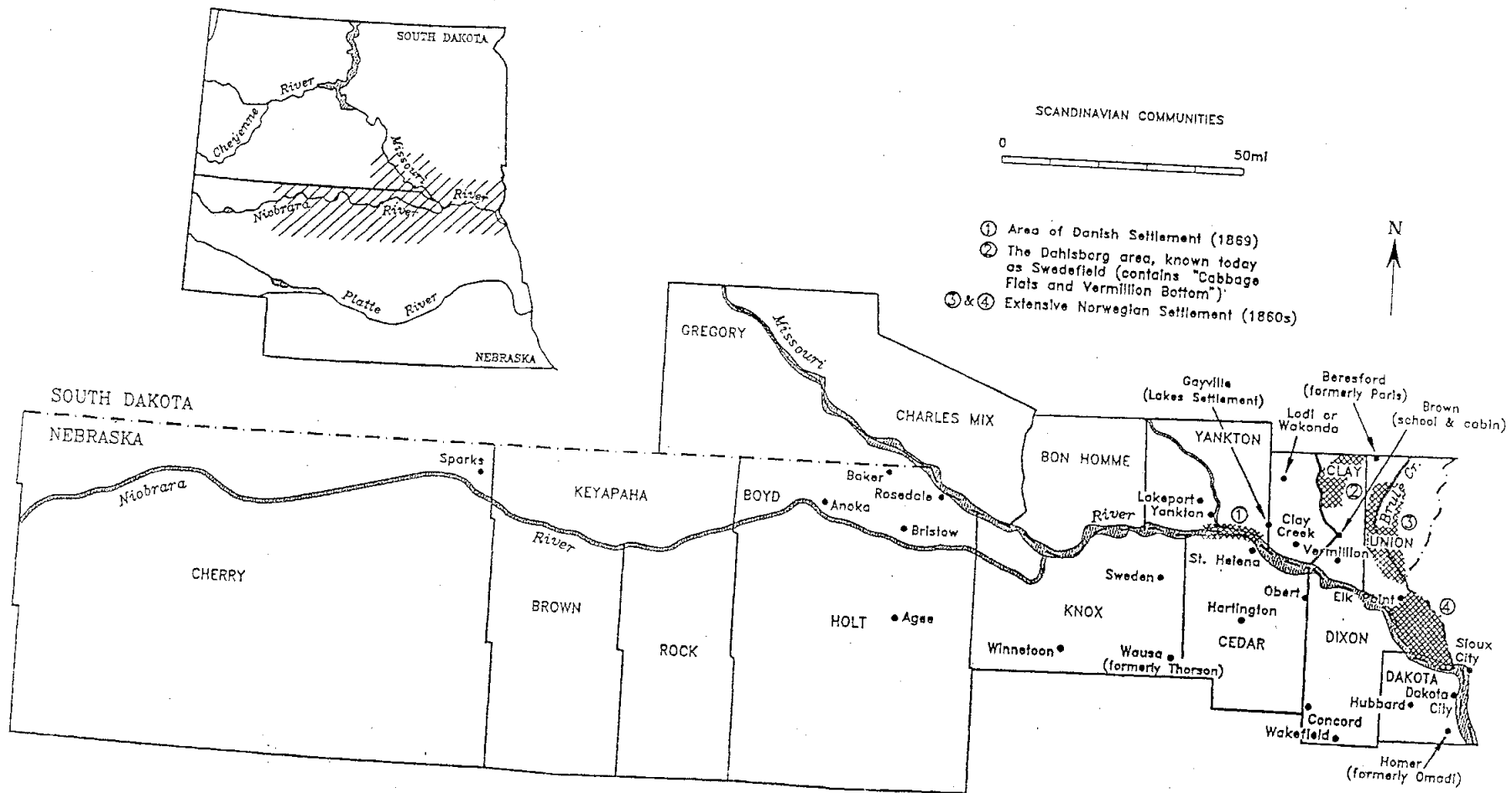
455 South Dakota State Historical Society (SDSHS)
456 n.d. Transcript of a Danish Slide Presentation of Danish
457 Settlement in South Dakota. South Dakota State Historical
458 Preservation Center, Vermillion.

459 Trott, Eleanor
460 1967 *Svenska Nebraska*. Gillen, Inc., York, Nebraska.

461 United States Department of Interior (USDI)
462 1983 *National Register of Historic Places Inventory--Nomination*
463 *Form of Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Salem Church in Wakefield,*
464 *Dixon County, Nebraska*. Copies on file with the Keeper of the
465 National Register of Historical Places, National Park Service,
466 U.S. Department of the Interior, and the Nebraska State
467 Historical Society, Lincoln.

468 Wausa Centennial Book Committee
469 1990 *Wausa, Nebraska (1890-1990)*. Centennial Book Committee.
470 Marathon Press, Inc., Long Island City, New York.

Wimi SCAN



[Last revised: 12 October 1994]

CHAPTER 26

AFRICAN AMERICANS

By Michelle Watson

Introduction

The African Americans who immigrated to and settled in present-day Nebraska and South Dakota following the Civil War were seeking economic prosperity and freedom from persecution. Most of those who settled near the NIMI study area arrived with the advance of the military and the agricultural frontiers. Some came directly from southern states while others came from other parts of Nebraska, or Canada. These original settlers were either former slaves, children of former slaves, Civil War veterans, or African Americans who had escaped from the South via the "underground railroad" to Canada.

These African Americans made several "settlements," however limited, close to the NIMI study area. Settlements identified near NIMI include the DeWitty homesteading colony in Cherry County, the Bliss homesteading colony near Goose Lake in Holt County, and the Black community within the town of Yankton, South Dakota. In general, these African American communities are little known historically. In addition, African Americans at times comprised large elements of the military garrisons at Fort Niobrara and Fort Randall (Thomas Buecker, Nebraska State Historical Society, personal communication, 1993).

Factors that Stimulated African American Immigration to the West

Though some Black Americans had sought to enlist in the U.S. Army before the Civil War (Alberts 1972:258), the events of that conflict eventually led to the movement of large numbers of African Americans into the American West. By 1861, the territorial legislature abolished slavery in the Territory of Nebraska. In 1863, slaves throughout the United States became "freedmen" through President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which eventually resulted in a mass exodus of African Americans from the South before 1870.

Primary catalysts for African American homesteading in Nebraska were the Homestead Act of 1862, the Timber Act passed in 1872 and effective in 1873, and the Kinkaid Act of 1904, the last of which opened up ten million acres of public land in the Sandhills for settlement (Farrar 1988a:47). Another impetus for African American homesteading was the campaign of President Roosevelt's administration to curtail the illegal fencing of

43 public lands by cattle ranchers (Aeschbacher 1946:220). Land
44 available in the Sandhills was generally poor for crop farming
45 but better suited for cattle grazing. Initially, for the African
46 American settler, land quality was not an issue as the land
47 itself was the symbol of an opportunity to make a better life.

48 Many African Americans were introduced to the prairies of
49 Nebraska and South Dakota through service in military units that
50 were stationed at frontier forts. This experience is discussed
51 below.

52 The organized efforts of the Freedmens' Bureau and other
53 agencies in Kansas also encouraged African American immigration,
54 resulting in numbers of Black Americans moving northward from
55 Kansas into Nebraska (Work Projects Administration [WPA] 1940).
56 Land availability, and social, employment, and educational
57 opportunities in Nebraska and Dakota Territory attracted this
58 immigration.

59 With the opening of the West and the advance of river and
60 rail travel, many African Americans found employment in urban
61 industries; others found employment with steamship companies and
62 with railroad companies (Bernson and Eggers 1977:243). At
63 several times in American history, African Americans were brought
64 in to new areas as strike-breakers during labor disputes (e.g.,
65 the Union Pacific Railroad strike in 1877, the smelting industry
66 problems in 1880, the packing industry turmoil in 1894, and the
-67 Burlington Railroad strike in 1923). Following the conclusion of
68 these strikes, many of the strike-breakers did find at least
69 temporary or seasonal employment in the immediate region (WPA
70 1940:10). In addition, in the years following the Civil War and
71 expansion of the West, many African Americans passed through the
72 Plains as cowhands on cattle drives that brought cattle herds
73 north from Texas.

74 Certain individuals were also responsible for promoting
75 African American settlement near the NIMI area. In 1904 the
76 author, writer, and film producer Oscar Micheaux, born a former
77 slave in Ohio, homesteaded in Gregory County on the Rosebud
78 Indian Reservation in South Dakota. During the following three
79 decades he promoted equity in race relations and immigration to
80 Nebraska and South Dakota as he traveled in the South and in the
81 East promoting his book, *The Conquest: The Story of a Negro*
82 *Pioneer*, which was published in 1913 (Anonymous 1988:192-193).
83 He continued to publish and produce films until his death in
84 1951.

85 Several other contributing factors for the African American
86 exodus from the South include economic hardship, share cropping
87 exploitation, floods, and ravages from the boll-weevil
88 infestation in the cotton fields (WPA 1940). During the post-
89 Civil War Reconstruction period in the South, Southern whites

were forced to grant African Americans certain civil and political rights, which resulted in compounded resentment toward African Americans (e.g., denial of voting privileges, rough physical treatment, heavy taxation, Ku Klux Klan activity, unsympathetic court judgments, etc.). All of these factors compelled many African Americans to seek better opportunities for themselves and their families elsewhere, and some of these people ended up in Nebraska and South Dakota.

African American Settlements in Nebraska near NIMI

African Americans who immigrated did so as individuals among white communities or neighbors, or they settled near one another in African American colonies, which were families settled on clusters of nearby farms, giving the participating families a sense of community. Prior to the DeWitty colonization attempt, many other settlement attempts failed, while many other colonies, having actually existed for a short time, left no written records (WPA 1940:12-13; Williams 1969:30).

Of the African Americans who settled in South Dakota, only a small number resided near the NIMI study area; most were located in the Black Hills where they were primarily employed with mining. The town that became and remained the center for African American settlement within the NIMI study area during the settlement period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was Yankton (Bernson and Eggers 1977:251).

The Yankton Community

Yankton was well established as a town by 1880 when several southern families arrived from Alabama (Bernson and Eggers 1977:250). They built the Allen African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1885 and the Second Baptist Church in 1916. Their population in 1890 was only around 59 (Blakely n.d.:92). During World War I (1922-1930), growth of the local Black community in Yankton slowed dramatically. Following the war, the Black population of the state began to increase slowly, but most of the new settlers scattered themselves throughout rural areas in South Dakota because racism was becoming an increasing problem for African Americans in urban centers like Yankton and Sioux Falls; housing and employment were also growing concerns (Bernson and Eggers 1977:253).

In addition to the Yankton community, another African American community may have been established near NIMI by the name of "Texas" in Union County in the 1860s (Jim Wilson, South Dakota Historic Preservation Office, personal communication, 1993). The town, said to be located south of the present-day community of Elk Point, is reported to have contained a post office and a cemetery (Jim Wilson, South Dakota Historic Preservation Office, personal communication, 1993). However, no

136 documentation of this settlement has been located.

137 The Goose Lake or Bliss Colony

138 Around 1875, several African American families homesteaded
139 at the Bliss colony in the area near Big Goose Lake in southern
140 Holt County. Little information is generally available about the
141 Goose Lake settlement, but the following information is taken
142 from Yost's (1976:358-365) history of Holt County. The exact
143 date of the settlement's founding is unknown, but the families
144 probably arrived in the area before 1875. Many of the
145 settlement's inhabitants were employed after that date by John
146 Henry Dirks, a German settler who established a ranch in the area
147 surrounding the lake. The Bliss post office was located about
148 two miles west of Dirks' ranch. The school was located about a
149 mile from the ranch and was attended by all children in the
150 district whether white or Black. A church was maintained in the
151 southeast corner of the ranch and was served by a circuit
152 minister.

153 The cemetery at Goose Lake was known as the "Negro Cemetery"
154 but whites were also buried there. Due to wind erosion, bodies
155 were moved from it twice, the last time in 1934 to a common grave
156 in Trussell Cemetery in Holt County (Yost 1976:364).

157 According to Mary Cloud (Lincoln, Nebraska, personal
158 communication, 1993), a descendent of some of the original Bliss
159 Colony African American settlers, the colony was connected with
160 the Exodusters in Kansas and the Westerville and DeWitty
161 settlements in Nebraska. She stated that the lack of success of
162 these African American settlements was due to two primary
163 reasons. First, many African American settlers were at a
164 disadvantage due to illiteracy; they often agreed to legal
165 arrangements with outsiders without being able to read the legal
166 documents they were asked to sign. Second, the colonies did not
167 join together or expand, even though kinships relationships
168 connected many of them, because racism was prevalent. If the
169 colonies remained small, they experienced less prejudice and
170 racism from suspicious, white neighbors.

171 The DeWitty Colony

172 The most successful documented African American colony in
173 Nebraska was the DeWitty settlement located approximately ten
174 miles northwest of Brownlee, Nebraska, in Cherry County, along
175 the North Loup River. The settlement's success has been
176 attributed to its being founded by Southern Blacks shortly after
177 passage of the Kinkaid Act in 1904 (Farrar 1988a:15).

178 Clem Deaver was responsible for promoting interest in
179 African American colonizing in the Sandhills. In 1904 he filed
180 in Valentine for his Kinkaid claim. Hearing that there were some

181 50,000 acres left unclaimed, he sent word to other African
182 Americans living elsewhere in Nebraska. This news attracted, in
183 1907, three African American families from the successful, but
184 smaller, Overton colony in Dawson County, Nebraska. The Overton
185 settlers originated in Canada and settled in Dawson County in
186 1880. They have been described as "educated, weather oriented,
187 and conditioned" (Williams 1969:32), thus being well suited to
188 agrarian life in the Plains. By 1912, the DeWitty settlement
189 consisted of 79 land claims which extended up the North Loup
190 River for about fifteen miles (Reece 1945:93; Nebraska State
191 Historical Society [NSHS] 1989):

192 In 1916 the name of the post office was changed from
193 DeWitty to Audacious. Located in section 34 of
194 township 38, range 30 Audacious had a church and
195 cemetery. The area around the African American
196 settlement included two school districts with three
197 schools. Today there is no physical evidence of the
198 African American community. (NSHS 1989)

199 With the exception of Charles Meehan, the original DeWitty -
200 settlers from Overton were former slaves, children of former
201 slaves, Civil War veterans, or African Americans who had escaped
202 from the South via the "underground railroad" to Canada. Meehan,
203 a white, was born in Detroit, Michigan, of parents who migrated
204 from Ireland in 1855. Later, the Meehan family lived in the
205 Windsor, Ontario, area before coming to the Overton colony
206 (Williams 1969:32).

207 It was near Windsor that Meehan met his wife, Hester
208 Freeman, an African American, who had been adopted by the George
209 Brown, Sr., family when her parents died (Mary Cloud, Lincoln,
210 Nebraska, personal communication, 1993). Around 1880, the
211 Meehans came to the United States. Hardships suffered in Canada
212 on account of his wife being an African American compelled
213 Charles Meehan to move his family, together with the Browns, to
214 Nebraska, where they established the Overton colony in 1880 (Day
215 1979:489).

216 However, following the drought years of 1905-1907 and having
217 proved up on their claims near Overton, many of these colonists
218 were considering a new location where they could make a better
219 living. Thus, with the news from Clem Deaver that Kinkaid land
220 was yet available in the Sandhills, many left in 1907 and
221 established the DeWitty settlement under the leadership of
222 William Walker, Charles Meehan, and George Brown. Some
223 discrepancy exists as to the exact founding date of the DeWitty
224 settlement. In *"The Lost Pioneers,"* Beryl Decker (1963:63-64)
225 writes:

226 According to Roy Brown of Valentine, Nebraska, DeWitty was
227 first established by George Brown in 1905 section 1,

228 township 27 and range 30...Charles Meehan, William Walker,
229 and others followed George Brown...Seth Hanna, long time
230 rancher in Cherry County, believes that Clem Deaver did in
231 fact make the first claim in Cherry County in 1904.

232 No matter the exact date of the establishment of the DeWitty
233 settlement, or by whom, its impact and significance in Nebraska
234 history are no less important than any other settlement by any
235 other ethnic group.

236 These African American colonies were often interconnected by
237 blood and marriage ties. For example, in addition to the Overton
238 and DeWitty settlements, there was the Westerville settlement in
239 Custer County (Day 1979:488-493):

240 Thanksgiving Day 1907 was memorable for the Irishman,
241 Charles Meehan, and his wife. Their two oldest
242 children, Rosetta and Dennis, were married in a double-
243 wedding ceremony at Westerville in Custer County.
244 Dennis married Ida Shores while Rosetta married Charles
245 Speese. (Williams 1969:33)

246 The DeWitty settlement existed until approximately 1936 when
247 there were no African Americans left at the site. Albert Riley,
248 Jr., was the last to sell out. He moved to Valentine to work for
249 the Niobrara Wildlife Reserve between 1936 and 1956, which was
250 located where Fort Niobrara was once active (Williams 1969:33;
251 Decker 1963:65; Alberts 1972:259; Lighty 1960:169).

252 Because wood was scarce, the settlers built dugouts until
253 they were sure their claim boundaries were clear; then they built
254 "soddies," a more elaborate and permanent form of housing
255 commonly used by settlers throughout the Plains region. Many
256 contained only one room partitioned off by curtains, while a few
257 had several rooms like those of "Uncle Bob" Hannahs and Charles
258 Meehan, two of the original and most successful of the DeWitty
259 settlers.

260 The principal livelihood for these settlers was farming.
261 The primary crop raised for both the livestock and the table was
262 corn. Other crops included beans, black-eyed peas, potatoes,
263 melons, sorghum cane (used to make dark syrup), carrots, squash,
264 pumpkins, etc. They also raised hogs, beef, and fowl, and used
265 mules as burden animals. In addition to farming, they gathered
266 wild berries and fruit and hunted and fished regularly (Farrar
267 1988c).

268 Some of the settlers hired out to neighboring ranches to
269 earn money for staples and commodities that could not be grown or
270 made. Others worked as masons or carpenters (Decker 1963:65).
271 Some produced a surplus of milk and cream to sell, while others
272 hauled supplies for neighbors. Supplies were typically brought

273 from Seneca, 25 miles south of DeWitty, as it was the nearest
274 railroad town.

275 The local barber was Robert ("Uncle Bob") Hannahs. He
276 operated a barbershop in Brownlee two days a week (Fridays and
277 Saturdays) for the settlers of Brownlee. He did not barber for
278 his African American neighbors at his Brownlee shop; they would
279 have to visit his home during the evenings in the DeWitty
280 settlement (Farrar 1988d:39).

281 The DeWitty post office was named after the first
282 postmaster, Miles DeWitty (Farrar 1988d:39; Hanna 1986:246).
283 According to Day (1972:262), however, DeWitty's first name was
284 Jim. William Crawford carried the mail out of Seneca to DeWitty
285 twice a week (Farrar 1988d:39). DeWitty lost its post office in
286 1916 when

287 Arthur D. Meehan became the new postmaster and the post
288 office location was moved west of DeWitty. Apparently
289 in a flourish of optimism about the success of the
290 settlement, he named the post office "Audacious." In
291 1918, it was moved once again several miles north of
292 the river to the Triple-L ranch where it was known as
293 "Gard," and remained until 1943. (Farrar 1988d:40)

294 DeWitty had at least one store:

295 Ed White, who ran a store at Brownlee said that the
296 African Americans would purchase merchandise from his
297 store to sell from the DeWitty store. (Decker 1963:64)

298 Education was important to the inhabitants of DeWitty
299 (Williams 1969:32). School districts 110 and 113 were attended
300 by African Americans. Two more districts (164 and 108) were
301 later organized for both white and Black children. These rural
302 schools taught only through the 10th grade. Books were supplied
303 by the State Library at Lincoln, Nebraska (Decker 1963:64; Farrar
304 1988d:41).

305 The only community church to be established near DeWitty,
306 the St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church, was established
307 across the river to the north about a mile from the DeWitty post
308 office in section 28, township 28, range 30 (Day 1986:247). It
309 was founded in 1910 by Reverend O. J. Burckhardt of the African
310 Methodist Episcopal Church of Lincoln, Nebraska (Decker 1963:64).
311 Prior to the establishment of the church, services were held in
312 private homes in the community (Williams 1969:33). Reverend
313 Burckhardt recruited new colony membership from Lincoln,
314 Nebraska, and elsewhere across the state (Farrar 1988b:43).
315 During the period of the settlement's existence, people of all
316 faiths worshiped together in the one church.

317 An important annual event for the settlers of DeWitty was
318 the Fourth of July celebration put on by the Danish settlers of
319 nearby Brownlee. They enjoyed a rodeo, games, footraces,
320 picnicking, dance, and more.

321 Music was a very important part of their lives. Joe and
322 Turner Price, along with some local white men, played music for
323 all occasions (Farrar 1988e:42) Joe Price and a couple of white
324 men formed the Red Hot Jazz Bandits, a non-conservative band.
325 They often performed in the Harmony Hall in Merrick County, the
326 same hall that the Ku Klux Klan rented during the Prohibition era
327 to hold meetings (Merrick County History Book Committee
328 1987:120). Joe Price left the DeWitty colony with the Red Hot
329 Jazz Bandits during the era of big band music, and performed at
330 dances all over the United States (Farrar 1988e:42).

331 Baseball was another pleasurable pastime:

332 The DeWitty baseball team, the Sluggers, played teams
333 from Thedford and Brownlee and always drew a crowd.
334 Besides being fine players, members were natural
335 clowns. The "Sluggers" antics were similar to those of
336 the Harlem Globetrotters of basketball renown.
337 (Williams 1969:50)

338 The DeWitty settlement did not last more than about 30
339 years, however. All the DeWitty settlers' land holdings,
340 combined, controlled less than one mile of river bottom. Few
341 claims contained land that was good enough to provide hay crops
342 for cattle ranching; the good lands were claimed before the
343 African Americans arrived (Farrar 1988b:44). In addition, a lack
344 of knowledge about the practice of crop rotation and other
345 methods of crop improvement contributed to the withdrawal of the
346 settlers. As a result of the depression and drought years that
347 followed World War I, the DeWitty settlers, like many farmers in
348 agriculturally marginal Plains areas, were forced to sell out and
349 move to where they could once again find a better way of life
350 (Decker 1963:65; Farrar 1988e:43).

351 The land where the DeWitty Colony once thrived is owned
352 today by the family of Don Hanna, Jr., of Mullen, Nebraska. Mr.
353 Hanna has indicated that little physical trace of the DeWitty
354 colony remains today. For the safety of his cattle, Mr. Hanna
355 (personal communication, 1993), with the help of his
356 grandchildren, have removed from the pasture where DeWitty once
357 was located, all of the stoves and other debris from the former
358 townsite. However, three distinct groves of trees exist that
359 mark the former homesites of "Uncle Bob" Hannahs, Charles Meehan,
360 and Josh Emanuel. One large grove of cottonwood trees on the
361 north side of the North Loup River was planted by Charles Meehan,
362 a grove of smaller trees on the south side of the river was
363 planted by "Uncle Bob" Hannahs, and a gathering of stunted and

dying box elder trees was planted by Josh Emanuel (Don Hanna, Jr., personal communication, 1993).

In addition, the scant foundation of the DeWitty (Audacious) post office and store can still be seen. There are no signs of the church and homesteads, as they were made of sod and have become trampled down by pasture cattle. Mr. Hanna identified the unmarked graves of Mrs. Curtis, of Mrs. George Brown, of Josh Emmanuels' child, and of three or four other colony residents who were buried in the DeWitty cemetery on the north side of the North Loup River near the church (Don Hanna, Jr., personal communication, 1993; Hanna 1986; Farrar 1988e:44).

The African American Military Experience Within NIMI

In reviewing the African American experience near NIMI, the presence of Black soldiers at Fort Randall and Fort Niobrara should not be overlooked. With legislation passed on July 17, 1862, Black Americans were given the opportunity to serve in U.S. Army regiments composed of volunteer Black soldiers commanded by white officers (Fowler 1971:12; Leckie 1967:06). Many of these military units served with distinction during the Civil War.

As the military frontier in the West continued to expand following the close of the Civil War, a larger standing army was needed than before the war. New regiments were recruited for Western service, among them two regiments of Black cavalry (the Ninth and Tenth U.S. Cavalry regiments) and four regiments of Black infantry (Fowler 1971:12):

The original four black infantry regiments were designated as the 38th, 39th, 40th, and 41st Infantry. The 39th and 40th Infantry remained in the South and the 38th and 41st were sent to the West. The War Department in 1869 consolidated the 38th and 41st into the 24th Infantry and the 39th and 40th into the 25th Infantry. (Fowler 1971:15)

Legislation passed on July 28, 1866, specifically authorized the recruitment of African Americans into the regular army (Fowler 1971:12; Newby 1975:4).

The African American cavalrymen and infantrymen came to be called "Buffalo Soldiers," being first referred to in this way by Native Americans:

Called all manner of names--"Moacs," "Brunettes," "Africans"--by all manner of people, they were dubbed "Buffalo Soldiers" by their red antagonists. The origin of the term "buffalo soldier" is uncertain, although the common explanation is that the Indian saw a similarity between the hair of the Negro soldier and

408 that of the buffalo. The buffalo was a sacred animal
409 to the Indian, and it is unlikely that he would so name
410 an enemy if respect were lacking. It is a fair guess
411 that the Negro trooper understood this and thus his
412 willingness to accept the title. (Leckie 1967:26)

413 In the 1880s, portions of two Black regiments, the Ninth
414 Cavalry and the 25th Infantry, were posted to the vicinity of
415 NIMI, and constituted the first sizeable Black population in this
416 region of the predominantly white-populated Plains (Buecker
417 1984:312).

418 The 25th Infantry at Fort Randall and Fort Niobrara

419 The 25th Infantry arrived at Fort Randall in 1880. Coming
420 from Texas, these soldiers found a change in scenery and climate
421 as well as new duties in Dakota Territory:

422 During 1881 and 1883 they were in charge of guarding
423 Sitting Bull and the Hunkpapas during their period of
424 imprisonment at the fort. (Bernson and Eggers 1977:247)

425 They were assigned to remain in the field for many days
426 performing duties of chopping wood, guarding railroad gangs who
427 were cutting ties, and protecting telegraph workers and Native
428 Americans alike from animosity and physical aggression for one
429 another (Bernson and Eggers 1977:246). In Dakota Territory, the
-430 infantrymen provided relief to settlers during droughts, floods,
431 and severe winter storms (Fowler 1971:53). Following the Ghost
432 Dance troubles at Pine Ridge during the winter of 1890-1891, the
433 African American military presence in the Dakotas diminished
434 (Carroll 1971:187).

435 Between 1902 and 1906, various companies of the 25th
436 Infantry were stationed at Fort Niobrara, following their return
437 from duty in the Philippine Islands (Buecker 1984:319). Their
438 service at Fort Niobrara during this time was brief and without
439 any conflicts with the local white population. Fort Niobrara was
440 abandoned in 1906 after 26 years of operation. Between 1906 and
441 1911 some of the remaining buildings were used by quartermaster
442 officers who supervised the purchase of horses for the cavalry
443 and artillery. Finally, 16,000 acres of the military land were
444 retained for a national game reserve.

445 The Ninth Cavalry at Fort Niobrara

446 Companies of the Ninth U.S. Cavalry arrived at Fort Niobrara
447 in 1885 and remained until 1890 (Leckie 1967:251; Buecker
448 1984:307). While there, they served as guardians of the Rosebud
449 Sioux. As relations with Native Americans were relatively
450 peaceful in the area, the duties at this post were generally
451 limited to routine field and garrison duties such as wood

452 chopping, building, abode brick making, escorting, and bridge and
453 road building and repairing. In addition, they intermediated in
454 civil disputes between cattlemen, ranchers, and settlers (Buecker
455 1984:309-310, 316).

456 With the posting of Ninth U.S. Cavalry and 25th U.S.
457 Infantry troops at Fort Niobrara, some African American civilians
458 settled around the frontier post. Some civilians settled to the
459 south of the railroad near Valentine to provide goods and
460 entertainment for the soldiers, while others settled in other
461 vicinities near the fort.

462 One place of entertainment was operated by Ms. Mattie
463 Sanderson along the Minnechaduza Creek west of the post office
464 (Buecker 1984:312). The Deer Park Hotel was located on the north
465 side of the Niobrara River. The Casterlines' Ranch was located
466 about two miles east of the post. Some of these establishments
467 served as houses of prostitution, called "hog ranches" (Hart
468 1963:32; Buecker 1984:312). All of these facilities offered
469 entertainment such as dance, gambling, whiskey, entertainment,
470 card playing, etc. Other, more organized diversions were also
471 provided to the soldiers on the post, such as educational
472 courses, dances, celebrations, baseball, etc. (Buecker 1984:312).

473 Blacks have a long and honorable history of service in the
474 U.S. military. During the Civil War (1861-1865), the Indian
475 campaigns of the late nineteenth century, the Spanish-American
476 War (1898), and the Philippine-American War (1899-1902), African
477 American soldiers served with distinction, although the U.S.
478 Army, like the United States society in general during that time,
479 was rigidly segregated along racial lines. In *"The Black Soldier
480 and Officer In The United States Army, 1891-1917,"* Marvin
481 Fletcher writes:

482 Despite the renewed evidence that these black Regulars
483 could fight, most whites felt blacks were cowards.
484 White officers continued to be influenced by their
485 predispositions about the race rather than the concrete
486 evidence of the soldiers' performance. After 1890 the
487 policy of racial separation had been implemented in
488 every facet of American life, and the army was no
489 exception. (Fletcher 1974:60-61)

490 Military service provided career employment and some degree
491 of job advancement potential for many Blacks who were faced with
492 fewer socio-economic prospects in other aspects of American life
493 at the time:

494 Certainly for the black male of this time period, the
495 army, which was far from being a citadel of democracy
496 and equality, did provide as fair an opportunity as the
497 American nation could offer. (Fowler 1971:148)

Conclusion

499 In conclusion, accounts of African Americans in Nebraska and
 500 South Dakota history are few and incomplete. In *Broken Hoops and*
 501 *Plains People* (Welch 1976:118), some of the reasons given for
 502 this are 1) Ku Klux Klan influence; 2) economic problems; 3) crop
 503 failures; 4) intensified racism; 5) chauvinism of the World War I
 504 period; and 6) isolation from other African Americans.

505 As settlers, African Americans controlled very little
 506 quality haying, feeding, or cropping land because the good lands
 507 were mostly settled before the African Americans arrived (Farrar
 508 1988b:44). In addition, their lack of knowledge about state-of-
 509 the-art agricultural practices contributed to the eventual
 510 withdrawal of the settlers from the Sandhills. Finally, during
 511 the economic depression and drought years that followed World War
 512 I, most African American settlers in the Sandhills were forced to
 513 sell out and move to where they could once again find a better
 514 way of life (Decker 1963:65; Farrar 1988e:43). The African
 515 American infantrymen and cavalrymen who were present near NIMI
 516 between 1885 and 1906 contributed in a significant, if
 517 transitory, way to the ethnic diversity within the NIMI study
 518 area.

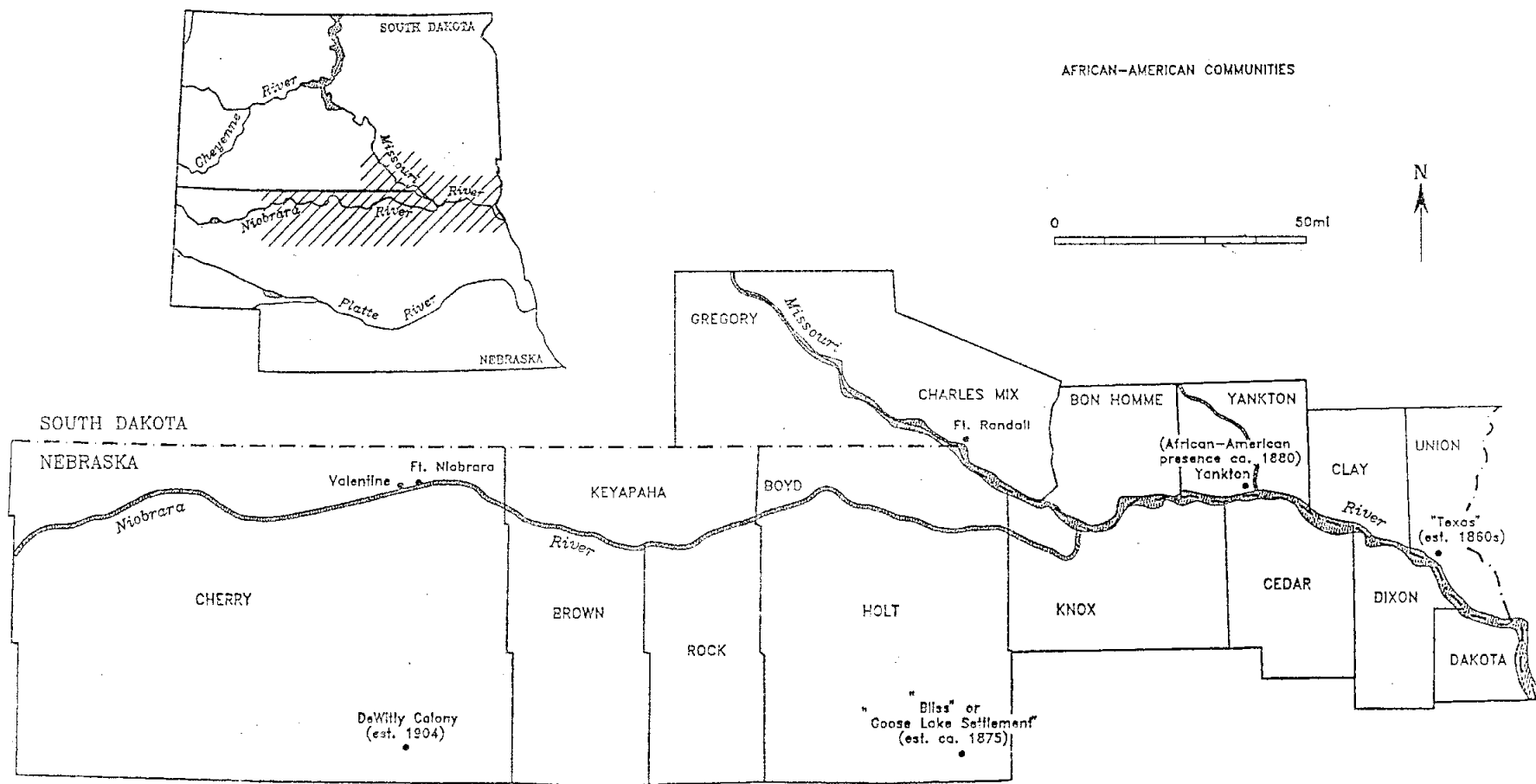
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CHAPTER 27

IRISH IMMIGRATION

By Michelle Watson

Introduction

This overview of the Irish people in Nebraska and South Dakota in the nineteenth century describes those Irish immigrants who came seeking economic opportunity and freedom from English authority in Ireland and prejudice from the English-descended population in the states of the eastern United States (Creigh 1980). Most of the Irish who immigrated to the United States were forced to move into the slums of the industrial cities of the East until successful colonization efforts were made (Gordon 1964:92, 135). Those Irish who resettled on the Plains in settlements like O'Neill and Atkinson in Holt County, Nebraska, (Nebraska State Historical Society [NSHS] 1988) were given economic opportunity and, more importantly, freedom from English supremacy: "What the Irish desired most was the ownership of the soil upon which they lived and cultivated" (Casper 1966:11).

As early as 1855, with the opening of Nebraska Territory for settlement, a group of some 60 Irish settlers led by Father Jeremiah Treacy traveled from Dubuque, Iowa, to the bluffs of the Missouri River and established the St. John's City settlement located "approximately ten miles west of the community engaged in the organization of Sioux City" (Kemp 1992:7); it was to be part of a larger St. Patrick's Colony which was organized by Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque. Irish colonization progress was, however, briefly hampered by church hierarchy who believed

that it was alright for the Irish to go west as individuals. To emigrate to the west in little Catholic groups would make the Irish become as distinct as the Mormons...they might fall victim to the same kind of harassment suffered by the members of the Mormon religion. (Kemp 1992:9)

Nevertheless, "Bishop Loras sent Father Treacy as his personal envoy" (Kemp 1992:8) from the St. John's City settlement to the Irish Emigrant Aid Convention in New York in 1856 and to the cities in the East, to lecture on and promote Irish emigration to the West in 1857. Opposition from the church hierarchy did not slow efforts to develop Irish settlements in the West. In 1862 the St. John's City settlement was moved a few miles east and renamed Jackson, presently located in Dakota County, Nebraska. In 1863 and again in 1870 this settlement suffered natural disasters which "destroyed a greater share of the remaining

buildings" (Kemp 1992:9). Because of the colony's location along the Missouri, the original settlers played an important role in promoting continued Irish settlement in the West.

In addition to these settlements, a "French Settlement" was established in the early 1850s near present-day Jefferson in Union County, South Dakota. According to the authors of *Dakota Panorama*, a number of Irish settled in Jefferson at the same time as these French circa 1859 (Jennewein and Boorman 1961).

The Irish Experience in Ireland

The history of the Irish is generally a story of plight and suppression. Their exodus from their beloved Ireland ("Erin") was primarily the result of shrinking land availability, of famine condition (i.e., the "Potato Blight" that began in 1845), and of the English domination and manipulation of the Irish economy (Moody and Martin 1989; Harris and Jacobs 1989; Hachey et al. 1989:92).

The breakdown of traditional inheritance patterns, in which family farms were typically inherited by the eldest son and women were given a dowry of land at marriage, decreased the size of land holdings, which were divided up among the sons of landowners, thus lowering the economic status of the younger generation of Irish by the mid-nineteenth century (Lowie 1960:150-151; Miller 1985:58). In addition, as medical knowledge and general health conditions improved throughout Europe, the Irish population boomed, creating additional pressures for land which only intensified the mass migration of Irish families to other places in Ireland, Britain, and eventually the United States (Harris and Jacobs 1989). Because of the English political and economic domination over Ireland, the Irish were barred from having their own legislature and control of their domestic affairs. The Irish agricultural and industrial economies were suppressed by the English to prevent any progress which might have threatened English economic supremacy over Ireland. These great distresses were fueled by the "Great Famine" during the period 1845 to 1848, also known as the "Great Hunger." Those Irish who did not emigrate prior to 1845 were largely forced to live as impoverished renters on their ancestral homelands under this English supremacy. Their diet was primarily limited to potatoes while the produce and livestock that they raised were either taken by the English and sold outside of the country, or purchased at rates well below their resale value (Miller 1985:286). As a result of these conditions, the Irish revolted unsuccessfully in 1848. When it became clear that they could not stand up to English military force and would have no opportunity to improve their economic and social status, thousands emigrated from Ireland. The population of Ireland decreased from 8-10 million in 1845 to 3-4 million in 1860, the result of high death rates as well as high emigration (McShane

and Murphy 1976:371). It is estimated that 200,000 Irish emigrated each year between 1845 and 1855 (McShane and Murphy 1976:371). Many Irish emigrants settled in the United States, even before 1845:

U.S. government records indicate that Ireland was the native land of the largest number of immigrants in each census period from 1790 to 1840 - that is, even before the famine. (McShane and Murphy 1976:373)

Ireland continued to lose population into the early twentieth century. Between

1856-1921 Ireland lost between 4.1 and 4.5 million inhabitants, of whom perhaps 3.5 million ended their travels in North America, primarily in the United States. (Miller 1985:346)

In 1850, the percentage of Irish-born in the foreign-born population of the United States was at its highest, nearly 43 percent. This figure remained over 30 percent until 1880 (Schrier 1958:160). Of the Irish who immigrated to the United States, "only a few became farmers in the West" (Berthoff 1971:305). Most were engaged in trades and as laborers:

In 1870...out of a total work force of nearly a million Irish-born, over 47 percent were working as general laborers, as servants, in cotton mills, and on the railroads; only 14 percent were classed as farmers and agricultural laborers. (Schrier 1958:7)

The majority of the Irish who immigrated to the United States were Catholics who distinguished themselves by the term "Irish-American." Many of the remaining Irish immigrant population were Protestants who called themselves "Scotch-Irish" (Berthoff 1971:47-48; McShane and Murphy 1976:370). Their religious separation in Ireland began in the eighteenth century when the Irish Catholic population was disenfranchised and Irish Catholics were legally considered "non-persons." It was not until 1829 that Catholics were allowed to hold public office and have some voting power (McShane and Murphy 1976:370). This religious separation continued, however, upon settlement in rural Nebraska and rural South Dakota as they settled in religiously homogeneous communities isolated from other religious influences.

Settlement in Nebraska and South Dakota in or adjacent to NIMI

After the territories of Nebraska and South Dakota were opened for settlement, the Irish (predominantly Catholics) were among the first to seize the opportunity to colonize. Colonization efforts were promoted by organizations like the Irish Catholic Colonization Bureau in southwestern Minnesota, and

the Minnesota Irish Emigration Society. The Northern Pacific Railroad in 1883 established 122 Irish Immigration Agents in Ireland and Scotland (Hammer 1980:303). Additionally, the efforts of individuals like Bishop James O'Connor of the Irish Catholic Colonization Association (founded 1879) of Omaha further promoted Irish colonization in rural Nebraska. As Vicar of Nebraska west of the Missouri River, O'Connor contributed greatly to Irish colonization in Nebraska and South Dakota, and competed with Montana and Iowa for Roman Catholic settlers of Irish origin who, it was hoped by the colonization promoters, would recreate the small, rural, religious communities that the Irish were familiar with in their ancestral homelands (Kemp 1992:3).

In 1855 two of the first Irish settlements were established in South Dakota. Chris Mahoney, an Irish immigrant, established a trading post in present-day Union County, "an important stopping point on the military road from Sioux City to Fort Randall" (Kemp 1992:9). Fort Randall was also established that year:

In October, 1855, Father Treacy paid his first visit to the fort...he found over 600 Catholics, mostly Irish...These Irish-American soldiers and their families should be considered part of the first Irish-American community in the region. (Kemp 1992:7)

Thus, immigrant Catholic soldiers played a major role in fostering future Irish settlements in Nebraska and South Dakota. The greatest concentration of Catholics living on the Dakota side of the Missouri was several miles from St. Helena, Nebraska, at the mouth of the James River, beginning at "John Stanage's Post". John Stanage's Post originated as a trading post established in 1859 by John Stanage, who is described as "Irish born and both English and Gaelic speaking" (Kemp 1992:11, 19).

These Irish colonization efforts met with resistance from Irish-American politicians in the cities of the eastern United States, and by Roman Catholic archbishops who believed that Irish colonization of the West would make the Irish become too distinct a group from the general population and result in harassment (Kemp 1992:9). Nonetheless, Irish colonizers pushed westward, settling in Nebraska Territory in the mid-1850s and in Dakota Territory after the 1858 Yankton Sioux Treaty was signed (Kemp 1992). There were some 20 Irish settlements established within or near the NIMI region between 1854 and 1889 (Kemp 1992:iv-vi). Communities near NIMI that contained sizeable Irish populations included Garyowen, Emmett[Michelle--is this name correct?], Ft. Vermillion, Bloomingdale, Yankton, Walshtown, Bon Homme, Springfield, Running Water, Wakonda, Star Corners, Lodi, Wheeler, Wagner, and Geddes.

However, two of the more successful Irish settlements in

183 northeastern Nebraska were O'Neill and Atkinson, both located in
184 Holt County, which experienced some of the earliest major ethnic
185 immigration in the state (NSHS 1988:16). The O'Neill settlement
186 was founded in 1874 by John O'Neill, a former U.S. Army captain
187 and self-styled "General" of the Irish Republican Brotherhood
188 (IRB; also known as the Fenians), a secret society organized in
189 Ireland and American to achieve Irish nationhood. It's first
190 post office was named Rockford, later changed to O'Neill (Yost
191 1976). "General" O'Neill arrived in Nebraska with a second group
192 of settlers in 1877 and established Atkinson, also in Holt
193 County. Atkinson was named after Colonel John Atkinson of
194 Detroit, Michigan (Yost 1976:5-9). The colonizers chose this
195 name because of the large land interests that Colonel Atkinson
196 possessed in the vicinity (Fitzpatrick 1960:74). O'Neill
197 selected Nebraska as a focus for Irish colonization because of
198 the vast government and railroad land that was available at a
199 fair price and because it was located a great distance from the
200 English in the cities of the East (Casper 1966:11). Other Irish
201 colonizers followed O'Neill to examine land west of the Missouri
202 and to promote Irish settlement, but they were generally not as
203 successful, with the exception of Greeley in Greeley County,
204 Nebraska (Shannon 1957:143). Some of the members of these early
205 settlements, however, disseminated information about
206 opportunities in Nebraska to encourage continued Irish
207 colonization in the state (Bedard 1924).

208 These settlements survived by utilizing sod, willow, and
209 clay to build structures (Shannon 1957:195). They thrived during
210 the depression, droughts, and other natural disasters because of
211 their location on the route heading to the Black Hills of South
212 Dakota which was traveled extensively by gold seekers heading
213 West (Martin 1937). As one historian has stated, "O'Neill was
214 the last place where the gold seekers could buy provisions"
215 (Langan 1937:32-33).

216 *Organized Irish Activities*

217 One of the first Irish newspapers to be published in
218 Nebraska was the *Evening Times*, established in 1869 in Sioux
219 City, Nebraska (Kemp 1992:20). It provided a medium through
220 which the Irish could express their sense of nationalism in their
221 new homeland.

222 Contrary to the immigrants' expectations, the American
223 future of the Irish was uncertain and the Irish found themselves
224 segregated and economically depressed. They banded together to
225 form religious and political organizations unlike any previously
226 seen in America (McShane and Murphy 1976). With financing from
227 the pennies of thousands of impoverished Irish men and women,
228 these organizations "established mutual self-help societies,
229 self-contained quasi-legal systems, separate Catholic schools,"
230 and more (McShane and Murphy 1976:377). They formed labor

231 organizations to protect themselves and to improve their social
232 status as one of America's first white working classes. Their
233 organized efforts were not always nonviolent. The "Nativist-
234 Americanism" Movement arose to encourage segregation for
235 religious and economic reasons leading to the organization of
236 secret societies such as the "Molly Maguires," a society formed
237 in mining communities of the West. These organizations
238 instigated both Irish and Nativist-Americans to engage in
239 numerous civil disturbances and agitations (McShane and Murphy
240 1976:377).

241 A major important Irish movement behind these organizations
242 was the Fenian Brotherhood. Another name for the Fenians is the
243 Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). Its primary purpose was to
244 rebel against English rule both in Ireland and in Canada (McShane
245 and Murphy 1976). The organization was "founded simultaneously
246 at Dublin and New York in 1858" (Moody and Martin 1984). Later,
247 during the American Civil War, the IRB recruited heavily among
248 discharged Irish veterans of the Union army (Kemp 1992:27;
249 McShane and Murphy 1976:378). A major organ of the Fenian
250 movement was the publication, the *Chicago Irish Republic*. The
251 movement's ultimate goal was to secure home rule for Ireland
252 (Hayes and Cox 1889). The Fenians encouraged the formation of
253 secret societies like the "Emeralds", the "Shamrocks", and the
254 "Phoenix", each having a military branch and recruiting its own
255 members independently (Casper 1966).

256 The founder of the IRB in Nebraska was "General" John
257 O'Neill. He and others organized this society not only to help
258 Ireland achieve nationhood, but also to encourage colonization in
259 Nebraska and South Dakota (McShane and Murphy 1976):

260 I have always believed that the next best thing to
261 giving the Irish people their freedom at home is to
262 encourage and assist such of them as come here of their
263 own coalition in procuring homes for themselves in this
264 free land... (O'Neill 1876:9)

265 Beyond the settlements of O'Neill and Atkinson that O'Neill
266 fostered in the 1870s, expanded colonization efforts were stunted
267 by spreading economic difficulties and natural devastation during
268 the 1880s which forced many Irish to move from their recently
269 established rural settlements in Nebraska and South Dakota and
270 move to urban towns and cities where they were employed as
271 industrial, rail, and coal laborers. Some, however, exercised
272 highly developed skills as politicians. Others, like Mark Coad,
273 contributed in other ways to farming in Nebraska. Coad purchased
274 40 head of Percheron, draft stallions and mares, and had them
275 shipped to a farm at Fremont, resulting in the first importation
276 of pedigreed horses into the state (Coad 1936).

277 Although Fenian military efforts to invade Canada in 1866

and 1870 failed, during the 1870s and the 1880s the Irish continued to show their support of nationalism in Ireland by sponsoring American counterparts like the Irish Land League and later the Irish National League (Miller 1985). Between 1890 and World War I, the Irish began to concentrate their energies on improving their social and economic status in the United States by building cultural centers, schools, churches, and other institutions that would benefit their own kind.

Irish Organizations Today

One active Irish organization in Nebraska is the Nebraskans of Irish/Scotch-Irish Ancestry (NISIAN), a nonprofit, nonpolitical, educational organization for the study of Irish and Scotch-Irish culture, history, and genealogical research. Membership is open to paying members. Presently, there are no members in counties within the NIMI study area. The organization publishes a newsletter which contains information on Irish ethnic events and activities across the nation, Irish publications (genealogical and historical), etc.

Other contemporary Irish organizations in Nebraska are the Hibernians and the Fenians, both of Omaha. Like NISIAN, these organizations have no members in communities within the NIMI study area.

An Irish national organization is the Irish American Cultural Institute (IACI) at St. Thomas University in St. Paul, Minnesota. There is a branch of this organization in Omaha. The IACI primarily supports guest speakers from Ireland, sponsors tours to Ireland, supports academic research on Irish topics, teaches Irish dancing, and supports local Irish musicians, poets, and writers. The organization's goal is to promote and keep Irish culture alive; issues involving politics and religion are avoided.

Today, the success of the Irish can primarily be seen in organizations centered around the Catholic Church, its schools, colleges, and other benevolent enterprises--institutions like Nebraska's Creighton University, St. Mary's College, and Father Flanagan's Boys Town (McShane and Murphy 1976). Irish musical groups continue to perform for numerous occasions nationwide. However, no traditional Irish musical instruments (i.e., bagpipes and drums) are played by any members of communities within the NIMI study area (W.D. Melena, instructor of the "Irish Dancers" of O'Neill, personal communication, 1993). The O'Neill Irish Dancers perform throughout the state and have also performed in Washington, D.C.. Their agenda is, however, not strictly Irish. They also perform patriotic dances and modern dances.

Aspects of Irish culture can be seen in St. Patrick's Day celebrations throughout the nation, a day that is celebrated by

324 all who have a love for Irish people and culture. St. Patrick's
325 Day was first celebrated in the United States in 1737 to mark one
326 day of unity each year between the divergent Catholic and
327 Protestant Irish factions. The citizens of O'Neill annually hold
328 the O'Neill St. Patrick's Day Celebration on the weekend either
329 before or after March 17. Among the weekend events are a parade,
330 fun run, quilt show, coronation and awards show, and a local
331 American Legion Club presentation. Other events include
332 activities at the Kinkaid Building, children's games, dances
333 (traditional and non-traditional), and the preparation and
334 consumption of traditional Irish stew. The dances are generally
335 performed by the O'Neill Irish Dancers. These annual
336 celebrations give citizens and visitors alike a sense of the true
337 "Irish Spirit" (O'Neill Chamber of Commerce, personal
338 communication, 1994).

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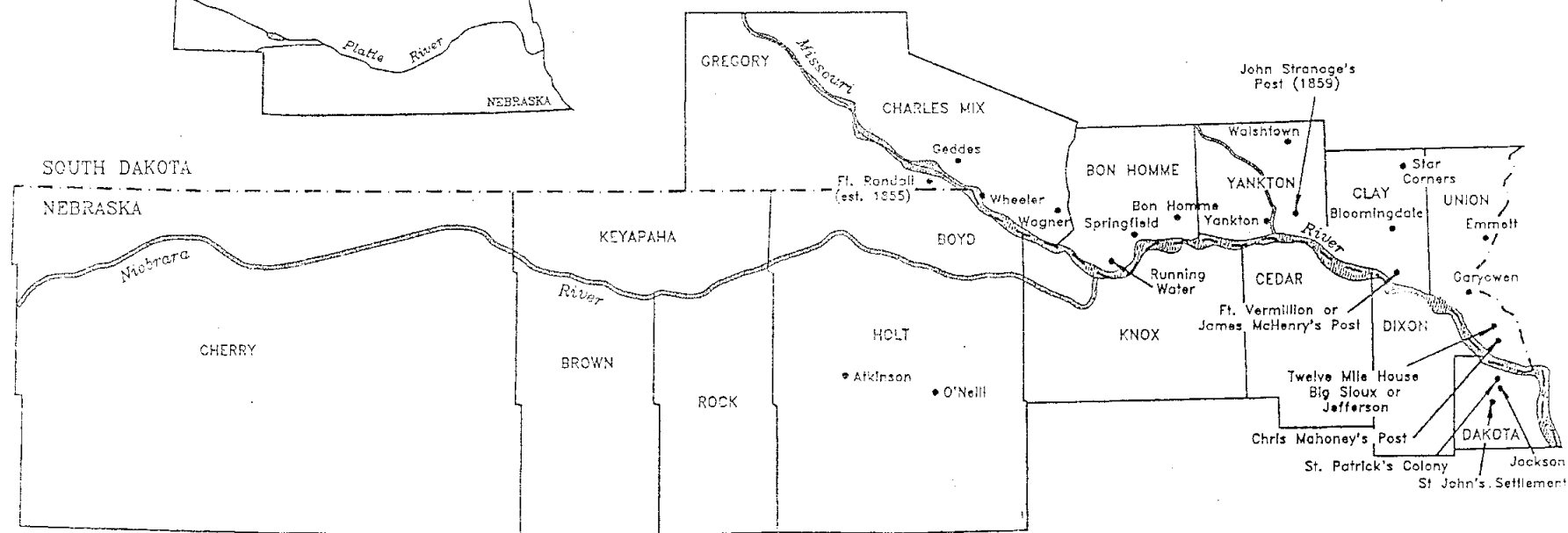
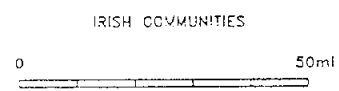
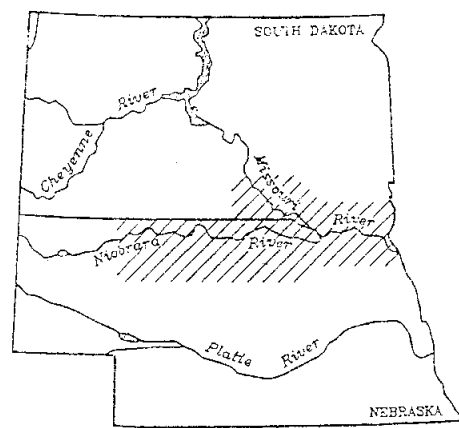
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April 1854



1 [PLACES.CHP; 22 June 1995]

2 CHAPTER 28

3 ETHNOGRAPHIC PLACES NEAR THE
4 NIOBRARA/MISSOURI NATIONAL SCENIC RIVERWAYS

5 Thomas D. Thiessen

6 INTRODUCTION

7 Members of all societies share a sense of common identity,
8 that is, a body of shared historical experiences and beliefs that
9 greatly helps to bond them together as a group. This feeling of
10 group identity is often reinforced by visits to geographical places
11 where group members in the past underwent certain experiences that
12 continue to have importance to the group today, where ancestors are
13 buried, and where spiritual beliefs are centered. These
14 geographical representations of a group's common historical and
15 spiritual milieu strongly tie each society to its past or present
16 physical environment. Such places can be said to have ethnographic
17 importance for the group.

18 This chapter attempts to identify ethnographic places that
19 have importance for the ethnic and religious groups that are
20 reviewed in this overview. Information about specific places is
21 presented in several tables, keyed to published and unpublished
22 sources of information. All of the information has been garnered
23 from written documents, and without the benefit of visits to the
24 identified places or a field study designed to systematically
25 identify and document places of ethnographic importance. For these
26 reasons, available information about ethnographic places in the
27 NIMI study area, and about details (particularly precise locations)
28 of the relatively few ethnographic places that are known by
29 reference to historical and ethnographic literature, is notably
30 incomplete in most instances. Many of the places listed in Tables
31 28-3 through 28-6, other than documented archeological sites,
32 cannot be located on the ground on the basis of present knowledge.

33 Some of the ethnographic places identified in this chapter are
34 also discussed in historical site inventories of the region that
35 were previously prepared by historians. Two such historical site
36 inventories relating directly to the NIMI region were prepared by
37 the National Park Service. The earliest of these is Ray H.
38 Mattison's inventory of historic sites along the Missouri River
39 from Gavin's Point Dam to the site of Fort Randall, completed in
40 manuscript report form for the Corps of Engineers in 1953 and
41 subsequently published in 1957 (Mattison 1953, 1957). The most
42 recent historical site survey conducted in the NIMI region is the
43 historical overview and inventory recently prepared for NIMI by the
44 Service's Midwest Regional Office (Franklin et al. 1994). The
45 author has chosen not to include in this chapter some historical
46 places which, while they certainly may have both historical and

ethnographic relevance to a specific society, do not relate to the survival of traditional lifeways and beliefs of that society. For example, on the Yankton and Santee reservations are a number of surviving churches and church-related structures that represent 19th century missionizing efforts among these tribes by missionaries from Euroamerican religious sects. In sponsoring religious missions among American Indians, most organized Euroamerican churches intended to convert Native Americans from traditional religious beliefs and practices to those sanctioned by church doctrine. The mission churches were forces working against the persistence of traditional religions. For the purpose of this study, ethnographic places are defined as subsistence and ceremonial locales, landscapes, structures, and cemeteries that are assigned traditional cultural significance by members of a society. Society members perceive such places as meaningful to their identity as a group and the survival of their traditional lifeways and beliefs. Consequently, places that lack significance for the preservation of traditional lifeways and beliefs--such as church missions, government schools, and trading posts--have largely been excluded from the tables presented in this chapter, although a few historical places such as Indian agencies have been included because of their important roles as centers for administration of Federal Indian policy among the tribes. Many places that did not contribute to cultural preservation nevertheless played an important role in the history of societies, and further information about them can be found in the historical studies previously cited.

The information presented in the tables that follow in this chapter has been gathered from systematic review of relevant historical and anthropological literature. A number of studies have been particularly useful, and are briefly discussed in sections of this chapter that follow. As explained in the first chapter of this overview, the study area for this project generally consists of a corridor along the Missouri and Niobrara rivers, stated as 15 miles on either side of the Niobrara Scenic River segments and five miles on either side of the Niobrara/Missouri/Verdigre recreational segments. However, in selecting places to be listed in Tables 28-1 through 28-6, the study area boundaries have not been rigidly observed, partly because the locations of many places are not known with precision and partly because it is considered desirable to "highlight" certain places of ethnographic importance outside the defined study area. In general, however, most of the places that appear in these lists are within the defined study area boundaries.

In reviewing Tables 28-3 through 28-6, which present information about Native American ethnographic places, it will be noticed that a large majority of the places listed are along the Missouri River segments of NIMI, and few are found along the Niobrara segments. This disparity primarily reflects differences in Native American occupation and use of the region. Permanent native settlements tended to be located along the larger waterway,

the Missouri, which offered an abundance of diverse resources from several distinct environmental zones (river channel, floodplains, higher terraces where they exist, dissected breaks, and uplands). The Niobrara tributary to the Missouri was generally used for hunting, warfare, and as a travel corridor. Ethnographic places along the Missouri River portions of NIMI are simply more abundant and better documented.

NATIONAL REGISTER PROPERTIES

Tables 28-1 and 28-2 list properties that are included in the National Register of Historic Places and that are located in counties contiguous to designated waterway segments of NIMI. The properties included in Table 28-1 are of Euroamerican origin, while those in Table 28-2 relate to Native Americans. The specific location of all of these properties is known with precision, and additional information can be obtained from the State Historic Preservation Officers of Nebraska and South Dakota, as well as the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Properties in the Washington, D.C. office of the National Park Service.

Of the 26 Euroamerican National Register properties listed on Table 28-1, only three (the Bon Homme Hutterite Colony, Rad Sladkovsky in Pishelville, and the Z.C.B.J. Opera House in Verdigre) are close to NIMI and may be taken into consideration in planning the boundaries of NIMI. The historical and cultural context of these properties is explained in the historical overview and inventory that has been prepared for NIMI (Franklin et al. 1994), as well as in chapters of this study that concern Hutterites and Czech immigrants in the NIMI region.

Of the 11 Native American National Register of Historic Places properties listed in Table 28-2, three are Euroamerican mission churches and one is the site (complete with standing architecture) of a New Deal-era experimental commune on the Yankton reservation; further information about these can be found in the NIMI historical overview and inventory (Franklin et al. 1994). The other seven properties listed on Table 28-2 include one sacred locality (Spirit Mound) and six archeological sites or complexes of sites. Spirit Mound is located north of Vermillion, outside the NIMI study area. Of the six archeological properties, five are within five miles of the Missouri or Niobrara rivers. Three of these relate to a prehistoric (A.D. thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) archeological complex, the St. Helena Phase, which is considered to be ancestral to the historic Arikaras of central South Dakota (O'Brien 1994:214, 216; Schlesier 1994:350; Ludwickson et al. 1981:165). Of the two remaining archeological sites, Ponca Fort is an earthlodge village believed on the basis of ethnohistorical documentation to have been occupied by Poncas ca. 1790-1800 (Wood 1993:115) and the Redbird I site is an earlier (ca. A.D. 1600-1700) earthlodge village occupied by people who were ancestral to the historic Poncas (Wood 1965:126-130). Both of the latter sites are

also included on Table 28-3, which lists ethnographic places relating to the Poncas.

These are properties that have been judged to be of sufficient state, regional, or national historical significance that they merit explicit consideration in Federal agency planning processes. Federal agencies are required by the National Environmental Protection Act and Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act to disclose and take into consideration the impact that agency actions will have on properties listed in the National Register, as well as properties that have formally been determined to be eligible for inclusion in the Register. Properties are recommended for inclusion in the National Register through an ongoing survey process carried out by State Historic Preservation Officers and by Federal agencies in the course of their planning activities. Because few areas of the nation have been systematically surveyed to inventory archeological resources, it is almost always essential for lands that will be affected by Federal undertakings to be professionally examined by archeologists and historians prior to completion of agency planning processes. This means that most future National Park Service actions in the NIMI region--whether within the eventual NIMI boundaries or not--will require archeological and historical surveys in advance of decision-making points in the Service's planning process. Undoubtedly, inventories resulting from these surveys will, in time, add many more properties to the National Register of Historic Places.

PONCA ETHNOGRAPHIC PLACES

Table 28-3 lists 53 ethnographic places that associate with the historic Ponca tribe. These can be grouped into the categories of villages (26), camp sites (5), mineral resource areas (5), lairs of mythological creatures (5), Indian agency sites (4), landmarks/places of prayer (2), game trail/hunting location (2), cemeteries (2), mound (1), and 20th century standing building (1). They are organized by county in Table 28-3, to facilitate geographical reference to the several NIMI studies that are underway.

Only 13 of these 53 places can be located on the ground with presently available information. Of the 26 villages, the precise locations of only six are known; the remaining 20 are known only through brief mention in historical documents or in recorded Ponca traditions. Four of the villages whose locations are known have been classified by archeologists as sites of the Redbird Focus, a cultural complex believed to be ancestral (ca. A.D. 1600-1700) to the historic Poncas (Wood 1965). The Ponca Fort site is a well-preserved fortified earthlodge village that is well documented in historical literature and was extensively excavated in 1936 and 1937 (Wood 1993). The remaining village site, the "Scary Creek" village, was subjected to very limited archeological excavations in

1964 and 1965, but no architectural features were found and only a small number of artifacts (Howard 1970:124-125). Of the six archeologically-known Ponca villages, four are probable candidates for villages also known through Ponca traditional sources as recorded by the ethnographer of the Ponca tribe, the late James H. Howard (1970): Redbird II archeological site = "Dusty" or "Black Buffalo" village; Ponca Fort archeological site = Nanza "dirt fort"; Minarik archeological site = "Farming Ground" village; and an archeological site near the mouth of Ponca Creek = "Scary Creek" village.

All of the five camp sites have been assigned to the ancestral-Ponca Redbird Focus by archeologists (Wood 1965), and are known only through archeological information.

The five mineral resource areas are represented by two quarries for obtaining flint to fashion into tools; two sources of clay for use as paint and in making clay figurines; and a source of yellow ocher used as paint. Of these, the approximate (a quarter section of land) location of only one, the yellow ocher pigment source area is precisely known and has been designated as archeological site 25KX401, though it has not been archeologically investigated (Howard and Gant 1966:27).

None of the locations of the five mythological creature lairs, the two places categorized as landmarks/places of prayer, the game trail/hunting location places, or the single mound are known with certainty, though relatively precise locations are recorded for the sites of the four historic Indian agencies.

One of the two cemetery locations is known and was the scene of archeological investigations in 1963 and 1964 (the Niobrara Railroad bridge site, 25KX207; Howard and Gant 1966:24-27). Two locations of "Indian Graves" on bluff tops north of the Missouri River and east of Greenwood, South Dakota, were noted on sheet 32 of the Missouri River map published by the Missouri River Commission in 1892-1895. These have been listed in Table 28-6 as being uncertain as to tribal affiliation. However, it is likely that these are cemeteries of the Poncas or Yanktons.

The Ponca Self-help Community Building (also known as the "Old Ponca Agency Building" despite the fact that there appears to be no evidence that it ever served an Indian agency function) has been a ceremonial and social center for the Northern Poncas since its construction in the 1930s (Howard 1965:69). At present, the building is being rehabilitated by the tribe for use as a center for tribal traditional activities, tribal offices, display of tribal artifacts, and a library. In 1994, the tribe obtained a grant from the Tribal Historic Preservation Fund administered by the National Park Service to replace the roof of the building (see page 10 of "A Report on Fiscal Year 1994 Historic Preservation Fund Grants to Indian Tribes and Alaska Natives," issued by the National

240 Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, Branch of
241 Preservation Planning, Washington, D.C.).

242 A relatively small number of published sources of
243 ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and archeological information have
244 proven especially useful in gathering information about Ponca
245 ethnographic places for this chapter. Perhaps the single most
246 informative ethnographic source is an article by the noted
247 ethnologist, James H. Howard (1970), entitled "Known Village Sites
248 of the Ponca." In the article, Howard summarizes a variety of
249 published and unpublished sources of information. Among the
250 unpublished sources are 1) information provided to Howard by the
251 late Ponca tribal historian, Peter Le Claire, as well as by other
252 Ponca tribal elders; 2) oral testimony of Poncas recorded during
253 litigation of an Omaha land claim case between 1912 and 1914 (Omaha
254 Tribe of Indians vs. the United States, U.S. Court of Claims No.
255 31002); and a map of Omaha and Ponca places in Nebraska compiled
256 between 1877 and 1892 by early missionary and ethnologist, J.O.
257 Dorsey, based on information provided by Omahas and Poncas. The
258 land claim case testimony and the Dorsey map have not been
259 published, but copies are on file with the Nebraska State
260 Historical Society. Howard's earlier work (1965), *The Ponca Tribe*,
261 also furnished much useful information, and provides a broader
262 cultural context for it as well.

263 In a paper entitled "Ethnohistory of the Ponca with Reference
264 to Their Claim to Certain Lands," which was originally prepared on
265 behalf of the U.S. government as expert testimony submitted to the
266 Indian Claims Commission in the 1960s (Docket No. 322), Joseph
267 Jablow thoroughly reviewed ethnohistorical evidence pertaining to
268 Ponca occupancy of lands in Nebraska and South Dakota. Many places
269 are mentioned in his study, and one of the report's appendices is
270 entitled "Ponca Village Sites and Other Locations." The study was
271 published in 1974 by Garland Publishing Company of New York as part
272 of an extensive series of volumes containing expert testimony
273 reports prepared for the Indian Claims Commission (Jablow 1974).

274 Two archeological reports, by a single author, W. Raymond
275 Wood, provide most of the information available on archeological
276 sites attributed to the Poncas and their forebears. Wood's "The
277 Redbird Focus and the Problem of Ponca Prehistory" (1965) is a
278 thorough analysis of a relatively small number of archeological
279 sites found in northeastern and north-central Nebraska. In that
280 study, published as a memoir of the *Plains Anthropologist*, Wood
281 proposes the Redbird Focus as the name for an archeological complex
282 whose geographical span coincides with the known historic homeland
283 of the Poncas. He suggests that Redbird Focus sites represent the
284 villages and camp sites of an ancestral Ponca population in the
285 period ca. A.D. 1600-1700, shortly after the Poncas arrived in
286 northeastern Nebraska. This study was originally completed in 1956
287 as a master's thesis at the University of Nebraska, but with a
288 different conclusion--that the Redbird Focus sites were the remains

of early Pawnee settlements. Wood rethought the matter between 1956 and 1965, and arrived at the different finding that Redbird sites were of Ponca origin, a conclusion generally accepted by most Plains archeologists today.

At the same time that Wood was studying the Redbird sites as a graduate student, he also analyzed the human remains, artifacts, and data recovered during 1936-1937 archeological excavations at a well-documented historic Ponca village site, Nanza, the Ponca Fort. Using several lines of evidence, Wood has convincingly shown that this fortified village site was occupied by the Ponca ca. 1790-1800. His report was first published in 1960, but recently has been revised, expanded, and republished (Wood 1993).

Two other reports, produced for cultural resource management purposes, also provide a current summary perspective on our understanding of Ponca archeology in the northeastern Nebraska area by several archeologists who have been more recently active in field research in that region (Ludwickson et al. 1981; Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983). In summarizing the Native American ethnography, history, and archeology of the northeastern Nebraska-southeastern South Dakota region, they provide an invaluable complement to the studies discussed above.

YANKTON ETHNOGRAPHIC PLACES

Table 28-4 lists 25 places of ethnographic relevance to the Yankton tribe. Of these, 16 are historic village locations, three are the sites of New Deal-era experimental farm communes on the Yankton reservation, two are the lairs of mythological beings, and one each are an historic event location, the site of an Indian agency, a cemetery, and a plant resource area. One of the 16 village locations also is near the lair of mythological creatures, but it is not counted above in the latter category.

Only one of the 16 village locations is documented archeologically; the others remain unknown. The Yanktons were not as sedentary a people as their neighbors, the Poncas, who lived in settled villages of earthlodges and farmed nearby floodplain fields. The Yanktons, in contrast, were more nomadic, like the other Sioux groups. They moved their village locations more often and typically lived in pole and skin or fabric-covered structures called tipis that left little trace of their presence after being struck and removed from any location, although log houses and even some earthlodges are known to have been used by various Sioux groups as early as the 1850s (Hurt and Howard 1950; Howard 1961; Howard 1972:296). Consequently, few archeological sites have been linked to any of the Sioux tribes (Ludwickson et al. 1981:61), and little is known of their archeology in comparison to the semi-sedentary farming villagers who lived along the Missouri (the Poncas, Omahas, Arikaras, Hidatsas, and Mandans). Thus, it is no surprise that only one Yankton village is known in the NIMI study

area. That site in the Gavin's Point archeological site, located on Gavin's Point on the north shore of Gavin's Point Reservoir in Yankton County, South Dakota. Despite repeated visits and limited excavations by archeologists, the Gavin's Point site is poorly known (Hall 1961; Howard and Gant 1966:7-8; Zimmerman and Bradley n.d.; Zimmerman and Bradley 1978; Ryder 1978; Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983:308, 311, 312-313; Lueck 1987; Lueck and Hannus 1987). However, the site has yielded evidence of a historic Native American occupation as well as several prehistoric complexes. It is clearly an important multi-component archeological site and has been determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (Lueck and Hannus 1987:7), though it is not clear if this is was formally determined by the Keeper of the National Register or whether the site has been nominated to the Register in follow-up to the determination. The site lies within the Gavin's Point Recreation Area. On the basis of historical documentation, Howard (1972:296), Hall (cited in Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983:304), and Blakeslee and O'Shea (1983:304, 311) have identified this as the probable village of the Yankton band led by Chief Smutty Bear in the 1850s. Blakeslee and O'Shea (1983:312-313) have recommended that the site, along with several other historic Yankton sites in the region, be considered for thematic nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, but it is not clear that all of the sites so recommended are sufficiently well known archeologically to warrant nomination to the Register.

Three of the sites listed in Table 28-4 are the remains of experimental Native American farming communes that were established under the authority of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Through its Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division, the Bureau of Indian Affairs cooperated with several other New Deal programs to purchase land and build housing and other structures at twenty locations on South Dakota Indian reservations between 1936 and 1942 (Bromert 1984:34-35). The goal of this program was to "rehabilitate" Native Americans by making them self-sufficient in communal communities where they could profit from agricultural pursuits. Four of these experimental communes were located on the Yankton Reservation (Hoover 1988:60-61), three of which were located within the NIMI study area (Table 28-4). One of the earliest and most successful of these was the Rising Hail Colony (named after a prominent Yankton chief), which was built in 1938 and 1939 by the Rising Hail Cooperative Development Association (Bromert 1984:38-39). The commune housed ten Indian families, who jointly owned the community's livestock, machinery, and other property. The communes were reasonably successful only as long as they continued to receive Federal support. The Indian Relief and Rehabilitation Division ceased to exist in 1941 and rehabilitation funds dried up in the early 1940s. These events, coupled with decimation of the cattle herd by anthrax, a grasshopper plague, the accidental burning of the colony's barn, and tensions among the resident families arising from the closeness of communal living, led to the dissolution of the Rising Hail cooperative in 1949

(Bromert 1984:40, 46). Many of the buildings of the Rising Hail Colony still stand, and in 1975 the site of the commune was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in recognition of the community's historic role in a unique aspect of the administration of Federal Indian policy and the distinctive architecture of its structures, which were built from local deposits of "chalkrock" (Franklin et al. 1994:36-39).

Two of the locations on Table 28-4 are lairs of mythological beings. One of these, Spirit Mound, is not within the NIMI study area but is situated approximately eight miles north and west of the city of Vermillion. It is a prominent hill believed by several Indian tribes to be the abode of small (about 18 inches high) malevolent beings who shoot arrows at humans (Moulton 1986:504-505). Lewis and Clark climbed the hill on August 25, 1804, and Clark remarked in his journal that the hill "was viewed with Such turrow [terror] by all the different Nation[s] in this quarter" (Moulton 1987:9). Clark also observed that the Sioux, Otos, and Omahas would not approach the hill for fear of these creatures, and that the death of three Omaha men a few years earlier was attributed to the "murceyless fury" of the hill's denizens (Moulton 1986:504-505). The hill is included in the list of Yankton ethnographic places (Table 28-4) because it lies in the historical territory of the Yanktons, and also on Table 28-6, which identifies ethnographic places relating to other tribes as well. It is publicly marked by a roadside sign.

Although not tabulated as a mythological lair, the White Swan Yankton village is noted on Table 28-4 as being in a locale that was home to creatures with faces on both sides of their head, who Howard (1972:295) refers to as "legendary sirens of the Dakota."

The single historic event location identified on Table 28-4 is Calumet Bluff, so-called because of a council that Lewis and Clark held nearby with the Yanktons on August 30 and 31, 1804 (Moulton 1987:26-37). Today the southern end of the Gavin's Point Dam axis ties into Calumet Bluff and the adjacent floodplains have been inundated or destroyed by construction of the dam. Consequently, the appearance of the bluff and surrounding area is substantially different from the time of Lewis and Clark's visit. Lewis and Clark's council with the Yanktons at Calumet Bluff was the first formal meeting of the U.S. government with any of the Sioux tribes, though it was not the first formal council held by Lewis and Clark with Indians along their route. This meeting with the Yanktons was indeed an important event in the history of governmental relationships with American Indians, and particularly with the Sioux, as pointed out by Ronda (1984:253). However, it's broad significance to the history of the U.S. government's Indian policy can easily be overstated. Franklin et al. (1994:25-26) wisely caution that the significance of the meeting not be construed as dictating the "course for diplomatic relations between Plains Indians and the government for the next half century," an assertion

436 that is broader than the historical circumstances warrant.

437 The remaining three places identified on Table 28-4 are an
438 historic agency for administration of the Yankton reservation
439 (still in operation at Greenwood); a place (exact location unknown)
440 where dogwood bark was gathered to include in kinnikinnick, a
441 native form of smoking tobacco; and a church cemetery at Greenwood
442 which contains the grave of Struck-by-the-Ree, one of the most
443 revered of the Yankton chiefs and a leader who was largely
444 instrumental in advocating and maintaining the long-term peaceful
445 relationship between the Yanktons and the U.S. government (Hoover
446 1988:34-35; Hodge 1910:644-645).

447 Sources of information about places of importance to the
448 Yankton tribe are few. No comprehensive ethnography of the tribe
449 has been written by a professional anthropologist, and historical
450 works are typically limited in scope and scattered in older
451 publications. A recent exception to this is the book, *The Yankton*
452 *Sioux*, written by Herbert T. Hoover (1988), which comprehensively
453 reviews the history of the tribe, though briefly and for a popular
454 audience. Much of the information in this book is based on a
455 thematic survey of Yankton historical sites conducted by Hoover in
456 the 1970s. Hoover's survey notes (Hoover 1985) are on file with
457 the State Historical Preservation Center in Vermillion and furnish
458 a number of useful leads about ethnographic places.

459 Probably the most useful source of information about Yankton
460 ethnographic places is an article entitled "Notes on the
461 Ethnogeography of the Yankton Dakota," by James H. Howard (1972),
462 which was published in *Plains Anthropologist*. Howard's essay
463 reviews Yankton history in general and surveys Yankton geographical
464 landmarks on the basis of information provided by Yankton elders in
465 1966-1967 and earlier.

466 Three published Indian Claims Commission reports prove useful
467 reviews of ethnohistorical information bearing on the historical
468 movements of the Yanktons. Two of these (Woolworth 1974; Champe
469 1974) focus specifically on the Yankton tribe, while the third
470 (Hurt 1974) is of broader scope and reviews the history of the
471 Sioux groups in all three of the tribal linguistic divisions
472 (Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota). Howard's 1972 study, however, is
473 more useful than any of these three works for the purpose of this
474 chapter.

475 Yankton archeology is poorly known, for reasons that have been
476 presented above. Only one Yankton village site in the NIMI study
477 area (Gavin's Point site, 39YK203) is known archeologically, but
478 has been little investigated, and one other occupation site
479 (39B055) from the early reservation period has recently been
480 attributed to the Yanktons, but likewise is poorly known
481 archeologically (Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983:276-278, 312).

483 Of the three "resident" American Indian tribes in the NIMI
484 region, the Poncas appear to have resided there longest, possibly
485 from ca. A.D. 1600 (Wood 1965). The Yanktons originated in central
486 Minnesota but probably moved to the southeastern South Dakota area
487 as early as about A.D. 1720 (Howard 1972:281, 283). The Santees,
488 however, are by far the most recent newcomers to the NIMI region,
489 having been settled on their reservation by the government in 1866
490 following the Dakota-American warfare that began in Minnesota in
491 1862. A few Santees had occasionally been present in the NIMI
492 region before establishment of the Nebraska reservation for them,
493 usually as part of a mixed Santee-Yankton community near the mouth
494 of the Vermillion River in the 1830s and 1840s (cf. Blakeslee and
495 O'Shea 1983:96-103).

496 Despite the fact that the Santees' association with the NIMI
497 region has not been of as long duration as that of the Poncas and
498 Yanktons, they have in fact lived on their Nebraska reservation for
499 nearly 130 years and have developed strong attachment to the land
500 over that time. The fact that Table 28-5 shows few (only five)
501 locations associated with the Santees, does not mean that the
502 Santee reservation and the surrounding region are devoid of places
503 that are important to the tribe. However, little information about
504 such places are available in the published literature relating to
505 the Nebraska Santees. Other than Meyer's (1993) history of the
506 tribe, few studies have focused specifically on these people and
507 relatively little published historical or ethnographic information
508 about them is available as a result. Few details about Santee
509 ethnographic places in the NIMI region can be incidentally gleaned
510 from published works that focus largely on subjects other than the
511 Santees (e.g., Woolworth 1974, Howard 1972, Chitterlen and
512 Richardson 1905, and the scattered historical works cited in
513 Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983).

514 As mentioned above, ethnographic fieldwork could be undertaken
515 on the Santee reservation and in the surrounding vicinity for the
516 specific purpose of identifying and documenting places of
517 ethnographic importance to the Nebraska Santees. The same holds
518 true for the Yanktons and the Poncas as well. Undoubtedly,
519 ethnographic field work among the elders of all three tribes
520 residing in the NIMI area has the potential to expand our knowledge
521 of ethnographic places severalfold. This chapter has only
522 scratched the surface of such knowledge, however, based solely on
523 a review of relevant historical and ethnographic literature.
524 Because the status of all three tribes as dependent sovereign
525 nations is recognized by the Federal government, future
526 ethnographic studies conducted by means of interviews with members
527 of these tribes should be conducted only with the explicit
528 permission of their respective tribal governments as well as with
529 the consent of the individual interviewees.

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Table 28-1. National Register of Historic Places properties in counties close to NIMI that relate to European ethnic or religious groups.

Property Name/Type	Date Listed	General Location	Brief Description
<u>Bon Homme County, South Dakota</u>			
Bon Homme Hutterite Colony	6/30/82	on Missouri River south of Tabor	First Hutterite colony in U.S. founded 1874
St. Wenceslaus Catholic Church and Parrish House	2/13/85	in Tabor	Historic Czech immigrant church complex
Cihak Farmstead	11/28/84	Scotland vicinity	German-Russian folk architecture
Z.C.B.J. Hall	1/31/85	in Tyndall	Czech fraternal lodge
John Frydrych Farmstead	6/5/87	Tyndall vicinity	Czech folk architecture
John Hekl Chalkrock House	6/5/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
Joseph Herman Chalkrock House	6/5/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
Joseph Herman Log Stable	6/5/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
Joseph Herman Rubblestone Barn	6/5/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
Martin Honner Chalkrock House	6/5/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
John Merkwan, Jr. Rubblestone House	6/5/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
John and Kate Merkwan Log and Rubblestone House	6/5/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture

John and Kate Merkwan Rubblestone House-barn	6/6/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
Joseph Noll Chalkrock Barn	6/6/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
Jacob Sedlacek Chalkrock House	6/6/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
Teibel-Sykora Rubblestone Barn	6/6/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
John Travnicek Chalkrock House	6/6/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
Albion Walker Chalkrock House	6/6/87	Tabor vicinity	Czech folk architecture
<u>Cedar County, Nebraska</u>			
St. Boniface Catholic Church Complex	7/21/83	Menominee	1886 church and 1902 school built for German-Catholics; design incorporates Czech church design elements
Franz Zavadil Farmstead	1/31/85	near Menominee	Historic Czech immigrant farmstead
<u>Clay County, South Dakota</u>			
Jens M. and Anna Junker Farmstead	12/20/88	Meckling vicinity	Historic Danish immigrant farmstead
Anderson Homestead	3/30/78	near Alsen	Historic Swedish immigrant homestead
Rice Farm	1/20/78	near Vermillion	Historic Norwegian immigrant farm
<u>Knox County, Nebraska</u>			
Rad Sladkovsky (aka C.S.P.S. Cis. 68 Z.C.B.J. Cis 8 and Pishelville Hall)	6/29/82	in Pishelville	First Czech fraternal lodge built in Nebraska, constructed in 1884

Z.C.B.J. Opera House

7/5/88

in Verdigre

and 1920

1903 Czech fraternal lodge

Union County, South Dakota

St. Peter's Catholic Church

7/19/89

in Jefferson

Historic French-Canadian and
Irish church

Information taken from National Register of Historic Places 1965-1988 (Anonymous 1989) and the Spring 1989 theme issue of Nebraska History magazine (vol. 70, no. 1), and from lists provided by Mr. Mike Bedeau of the South Dakota Historic Preservation Office, Vermillion. See also Franklin et al. 1994 for historic context of these sites, as well as various chapters by Michelle Watson in this study.

(ARCIA 1857:123-125)

Yankton village

On James River at mouth of
Beaver Creek, a tributary from
the W

Yanktons

Reported to be near a "yellow bluff" (Howard 1972:
296)

Note: ARCIA denotes the Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year indicated.

[POLICY1.CHP, June 14, 1995-brr; ed. by tdt, 23 June 1995]

CHAPTER 29

FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY: THE PONCAS, SANTEES, AND YANKTON SIOUX

Beth R. Ritter

INTRODUCTION

The federal government of the United States of America has a unique legal and political relationship with more than 300 federally-recognized Native American Nations resident within the 48 contiguous states (Klein 1995:30-32; *Federal Register*, Vol. 58, No. 202, pp. 54364-54369, October 21, 1993). This complex relationship has evolved as a result of numerous treaties, statutes, Supreme Court decisions, international law, and, particularly, the U.S. Constitution (Wilkinson 1987; Deloria 1985; Deloria and Lytle 1983; Prucha 1984; Wunder 1994; Hall 1979). Because the federal government and the tribes are so closely interconnected, it is essential to discuss the histories of American Indian tribes within the context of federal Indian policy. The various histories and contemporary situations of the Yankton Sioux, Santee Sioux, and Ponca Tribe of Nebraska will be placed within the historical context of changing federal Indian policy to gain a more comprehensive picture of the larger forces at work over time. These tribes provide well-documented case studies of the major policy periods, as well as demonstrating the implications of those policies for these particular plains peoples.

The following discussion will be organized in terms of major federal policy periods which have impacted the history and traditions of the three NIMI-resident tribes. Arguably, one of the primary underlying goals of federal Indian policy has consistently been the dispossession of the tribal landbase and control of strategic natural resources (Barsh 1988; Jorgenson 1978; Ritter 1994). This theme will be examined via six major policy periods: Treaty-Making; Removal, Relocation, and the Establishment of Reservations; Allotment and Assimilation; the "Indian New Deal;" Termination; and Tribal Self-Determination. After a brief discussion of the nature of the federal/tribal relationship, the major policy periods will be discussed, drawing examples from the histories of the Northern Poncas, Santee Sioux, and Yankton Sioux.

Federal/Tribal Trust Relationship

Fundamentally, the federal/tribal relationship is based on the notion of inherent tribal sovereignty delimited under the guardianship of the U.S. federal government (Deloria 1985;

44 Deloria and Lytle 1983; Wunder 1994). This model dates from the
45 landmark Supreme Court decision, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*
46 (1831). Deloria (1985:239) describes the significance of this
47 ruling:

48 The federal-Indian relationship, as Chief Justice John
49 Marshall commented, is like no other in the world. Indian
50 tribes are denominated "domestic dependent nations," but
51 their practical relationship with the United States
52 "resembles that of a ward to his guardian."

53 Justice Marshall's opinion was a vindication for the
54 Cherokee Nation because it recognized that the state of Georgia
55 (and by extension, all states) lacked jurisdiction over tribal
56 lands and affairs. Jurisdiction over tribal matters was defined
57 as exclusively within the purview of the federal/tribal
58 relationship. However, the decision effectively diminished the
59 exercise of tribal sovereignty because Justice Marshall narrowly
60 interpreted this right to be dependent upon the benevolence of
61 the federal government. Despite, or perhaps because of, Chief
62 Justice Marshall's 1831 opinion, jurisdictional disputes between
63 tribal, federal, and state polities have persisted (Wilkins and
64 Ritter 1994).

65 Legal precedent (e.g., *Worcester v. Georgia* [1832], *Cherokee*
66 *Nation v. Georgia* [1831], and *Solem v. Bartlett* [1984]) clearly
67 reserves jurisdiction over tribal matters to the federal
68 government. The exception to the general rule of federal
69 jurisdiction over tribal matters is found in the P.L. 280 states
70 (including Nebraska; see below), which have varying degrees of
71 jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters on various Indian
72 reservations (Olson and Wilson 1984; Wunder 1994; Deloria and
73 Lytle 1983).

74 As the federal government increasingly entered into real
75 estate transactions with tribal governments, the ward/guardian
76 model eventually evolved into the federal/tribal "trust"
77 relationship. However, no specific document (code, statute,
78 treaty, etc.) has been produced to precisely define this
79 reciprocal relationship which is commonly acknowledged between
80 the federally-recognized tribes and the federal government.

81 For the NIMI-resident tribes (the Yankton Sioux, Poncas, and
82 Santee Sioux), this relationship is well-established by numerous
83 treaties (see Appendix II). For the Yankton Sioux, the trust
84 relationship was established by the Treaties of 1815 (Art. 3),
85 1825 (Art. 1 and Art. 2), and 1858 (Art. 4) (Hall 1979). For
86 the Poncas the trust relationship was made explicit in the
87 treaties of 1817 (Art. 3), 1825 (Art. 1 and Art. 2), and 1858
88 (Art. 2). The Santee Sioux Tribe's trust relationship dates from
89 the treaties of 1815 (Art. 3) and 1825 (Art. 1 and Art. 2). For
90 other tribes, inclusion under federal trusteeship stems from the

91 extension of statutes, the U.S. Constitution or international law
92 (Hall 1979).

93 The specific trustee for American Indian tribes and
94 individuals is the United States Congress, which is the only
95 federal entity that may define the scope of the federal
96 trusteeship (Hall 1979:9). Practically speaking, the bulk of
97 administrative oversight of the trust responsibility is vested in
98 the Department of the Interior, primarily with the Bureau of
99 Indian Affairs. However, technically, all federal agencies share
100 responsibility for the trust relationship. For example, the
101 Department of Health, Education and Welfare has the formidable
102 responsibility of administering the Indian Health Service.
103 Recently, the Clinton administration has reinforced the federal
104 commitment to this responsibility in a presidential directive
105 (Presidential Memorandum of April 24, 1994, published in the
106 Federal Register, Vol. 59, No. 85, pp. 22951-22952) as well as in
107 a number of high-profile meetings between administrators and
108 tribal leaders.

109 As trustee, the federal government has the following general
110 duties:

111 1) Protection of Indian trust property; 2) Protection of
112 the Indian right to self-government; and 3) The provision
113 of those social, medical and educational services
114 necessary for the survival of the tribe. (Hall 1979:9)

115 These federal responsibilities are the result of Congressionally-
116 ratified treaties, entered into under the terms of the United
117 States Constitution, with the tribal nations. Because the Indian
118 nations were treated as sovereign nations under the provisions of
119 the U.S. Constitution, responsibility to uphold the treaty
120 obligations, and therefore Indian affairs in general, have fallen
121 within the federal domain. Under the U.S. Constitution, treaties
122 are considered to be the "supreme law of the land."

123 TREATY MAKING AND DISPOSSESSION

124 By and large, the transfer of nearly two billion acres of
125 Indian land into the public domain of the United States for
126 subsequent sale to non-Indian settlers was conducted in a
127 systematic, legal manner under the auspices of the U.S.
128 Constitution (Sutton 1994). The question of fairness (i.e.,
129 whether Indian nations were compensated and treated in a "fair"
130 manner) is another issue altogether (see Wishart 1990; Wishart
131 1994).

132 *The Doctrine of Discovery*

133 The "Doctrine of Discovery" was a legalistic device used by
134 the European colonial powers (and later the United States of

135 America) to justify the "taking" of land already occupied by
136 native inhabitants. Because claiming title by discovery was only
137 admissible if the land had no owners, the European colonial
138 powers chose to resolve their dilemma by entering into formal
139 "government to government" treaty-making. Deloria and Lytle
140 (1984:2) suggest that

141 Every legal doctrine that today separates and
142 distinguishes American Indians from other Americans
143 traces its conceptual roots back to the Doctrine of
144 Discovery and the subsequent moral and legal rights and
145 responsibilities of the United States with respect to
146 Indians.

147 For this reason, legal scholars continue to cite precedents
148 established by the Doctrine of Discovery, vis-a-vis American
149 Indian nations (e.g., Cohen 1942).

150 In North America, the legacy of formal diplomatic relations
151 with Native Americans was established by the British. The
152 British negotiated treaties during the colonial period which
153 included military alliances with powerful Indian nations and real
154 estate purchase agreements to facilitate the orderly settlement
155 of the eastern regions of North America (Deloria 1994). With the
156 outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, the Continental
157 Congress continued this tradition by sending out authorized
158 representatives to negotiate neutrality treaties with the
159 powerful northeastern tribes.

160 After the American Revolution, the Americans laid claim to
161 the Doctrine of Discovery rights secured by the British in order
162 to void previous British land patents (Deloria 1985:240). As a
163 result of *Johnson v. McIntosh* (21 U.S. 543 [1823]), the U.S.
164 Supreme Court established the principle

165 in American domestic law that the Indian owned the
166 equitable title to their lands subject only to the
167 superior title exercised by the discoverer, or his
168 successor, in this instance the successfully
169 independent United States. Relying on the *Johnson v.*
170 *McIntosh* theory and the commerce clause of the
171 Constitution, the executive branch negotiated treaties
172 with Indian tribes as a function of its responsibility
173 under international law. (Deloria 1985:240)

174 We can gain some understanding of the status attached to the
175 official political nature of treaties by the fact that they are
176 handled by the Department of State, which oversees the
177 relationships between the federal government and foreign nations.

178 Cyrus Thomas (in Royce 1899:642) identified the official
179 federal position under which land titles of Indian nations have

180 been recognized: 1) original right of occupancy, and 2) title to
181 the established reservations. These categories of recognition
182 differ from the legal concepts of "original title" because they
183 are ultimately derived from the United States government, as the
184 "discoverer" (Royce 1899:642).

185 Questions of land tenure have permeated the federal/tribal
186 relationship from the earliest days of European settlement of
187 North America. Lasting removal (dispossession) was accomplished
188 primarily through the negotiation, interpretation, and
189 implementation of treaty-negotiated land cessions.

190 The history of treaty-making with Indian nations is
191 important in several regards. Treaty-making provides a written
192 documentation of the formal political relationships forged by the
193 U.S. Government with the various Indian nations. In the context
194 of international law and human rights, the list of Indian
195 treaties "provides a guide to diplomatic activities of the United
196 States with indigenous peoples" (Deloria 1994:646).

197 The treaty-making provision of the U.S. Constitution is
198 found in Article II:

199 He [the president] shall have Power, by and with the
200 Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties,
201 provided two thirds of the Senators present concur.
202 (quoted in Prucha 1994:70)

203 The Constitution established the superiority of federal laws and
204 treaties over state laws and treaties in Article VI:

205 This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States
206 which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all
207 Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the
208 Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme
209 Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be
210 bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of
211 any State to the Contrary notwithstanding. (quoted in
212 Prucha 1994:69)

213
214 Under the Constitution, treaty-making is presumed to take
215 place between sovereign nations (Deloria 1994). In this spirit,
216 it is important to note that, legally speaking, any right not
217 specifically enumerated in the treaty language is presumed to
218 remain with the Indian nation (Deloria 1994; Wunder 1994). This
219 point is important because it reinforces the claims of
220 sovereignty articulated by American Indian nations today.

221 The first major step towards tribal dispossession involved
222 the negotiation and eventual ratification of 371 treaties with
223 the various sovereign Indian nations who occupied what would
224 eventually become the continental United States (Prucha 1984).

225 However, for various reasons, dozens of other treaties and
226 agreements failed to achieve Congressional ratification despite
227 good-faith negotiations on the part of Indian leaders.

228 The treaties fall into two major categories: 1) treaties of
229 trade and intercourse, intended to foster "friendly" trade
230 relationships; and, later, 2) the treaties of cession, designed
231 to free up vast tracts of Indian land for American settlement
232 (Prucha 1984). Both categories of treaties were inspired
233 primarily by economic considerations, although federal officials
234 were also anxious to militarily buffer burgeoning frontier
235 borders from hostile natives. In this context, the treaties are
236 clearly politically-motivated as well economically-motivated.

237 The "first" treaties to be negotiated by the United States
238 with Indian nations were nearly always trade and intercourse
239 treaties, which sought to establish mutually-beneficial economic
240 and political arrangements (e.g., the extension of the lucrative
241 "factory system;" see below) (Ronda 1984). These treaties
242 reflect both the perceived sovereignty of the Indian nations and
243 the keen desire of the Americans to gain entry by establishing
244 formal diplomatic channels.

245 When the Treaty of Ghent (1814) ended the War of 1812, one
246 stipulation required Great Britain and the United States to make
247 peace treaties with the Indian allies of the other country. The
248 United States took this stipulation as an invitation to negotiate
249 new treaties (of friendship) with non-aligned Indian Nations
250 living near the Missouri and other western rivers, eventually
251 including the NIMI-resident tribes (Deloria 1994).

252 In this era, "Manifest Destiny" drove the philosophy behind
253 securing vast cessions of Indian land. "Treaty Commissions"
254 routinely criss-crossed the continent, e.g., 1851 Treaty of Ft.
255 Laramie, securing Indian land cession agreements for ratification
256 in the United States Senate.

257 Unfortunately, the settlement of Indian lands by
258 Euroamericans frequently preceded these treaties of cession.

259 In fact, pioneer thrust prior to the completion of
260 negotiations for title to Indian lands constituted a
261 problem in land administration for at least 3/4 of the
262 last century. The cession of Indian lands was a
263 prerequisite for the ultimate transfer of acreage to
264 individuals, to the railroad, and to the future states,
265 and such transfers of tribal land came about under the
266 disposal policies of public land laws. (Sutton
267 1975:44)

268 In this environment the treaty commissions, Congress, and the
269 tribes themselves came under increasing pressure to yield to

270 "preemption laws to give good title to settlers squatting on
271 Indian lands" (Deloria 1985:241). Many of the treaties
272 specifically provided for continued hunting and fishing rights
273 (in ceded territories) as well as formally identifying the
274 recognized homelands of the various tribes (Deloria 1994).
275 Eventually these delimitations would prove to be valuable
276 evidence for the decisions made by the Indian Claim Commission.

277 The timing of the "treaties of cession" reflects the growing
278 nineteenth-century American hegemony over Indian territories.
279 Frequently individual tribes actually petitioned Congress (e.g.,
280 the Poncas in 1857) to cede aboriginal territory because the rate
281 of American encroachment, coupled with growing tribal
282 impoverishment, left tribal leaders in the unsavory position of
283 raising revenue by selling their only asset--land (Wishart 1994).

284 The relative cost of acquiring Indian lands for the public
285 domain also increased. Wishart (1990:103) has observed that
286 "once the bison were gone and the Indians confined to
287 reservations, the government reluctantly had to pay more for
288 cessions in order to finance intensifying assimilation policies
289 and feed Indians who could no longer feed themselves." However,
290 as Wishart (1990:97) has demonstrated, the Indians seldom
291 received fair market value for their lands ceded to the federal
292 government:

293 From 1825 to 1900 the US paid the Indians a total of
294 \$29,977,015 for 290 million acres on the central and
295 northern Great Plains, an average compensation of 10
296 cents per acre, and often nothing at all.

297 Wishart (1990:101-102) also comments on the long-term
298 consequences of this penny-wise, pound-foolish policy:

299 The result was that the Indians' land base rapidly
300 diminished, but the Americanization program was never
301 given the necessary funds to have even a chance of
302 succeeding.

303 Cheap, abundant land benefitted settlers as well as the
304 government, whose role as "real estate agent" netted considerable
305 profit when the cheaply acquired Indian lands were quickly sold
306 at the prevailing market price to eager settlers. The Indian
307 dispossession policy of the federal government did not come
308 without a price, however. Battey (1970) estimates that the
309 United States government expended approximately \$500,000,000
310 between 1850 and 1890 fighting the "Indian wars."

311 For many tribes, treaties of cession were perceived as the
312 only rational hope of receiving compensation for and/or legally-
313 recognized entitlement to any portion of their aboriginal
314 homelands.

315 In 1899, the Smithsonian Institution published a compilation
316 of information pertaining to all tracts of land within the United
317 States that were ceded by treaties or reserved for the
318 establishment of Indian reservations (Royce 1899). The
319 information was presented in tabular form, accompanied by a
320 series of colored maps showing the limits of each ceded or
321 reserved tract, which have come to be individually called "Royce
322 areas" after the compiler of the volume, Charles C. Royce. The
323 "Royce areas" in the NIMI region are shown on Maps 29-1a and 29-
324 1b, which are based on maps 11, 41, and 42 in the original
325 publication. Pertinent information about the "Royce areas" shown
326 on Maps 29-1a and 29-1b is summarized in Table 29-4. These
327 "Royce areas" are somewhat different from the "aboriginal
328 territories" of tribes, as established by final judgments of the
329 Indian Claims Commission (see Map 29-2 and subsequent discussion
330 of the Commission in this chapter).

331 The resident tribes were well-acquainted with the treaty-
332 making process. The Yanktons negotiated seven ratified treaties
333 (Hoover 1976). The Santees negotiated six specific treaties and
334 were involved, to a degree, in a total of thirteen (Meyer 1993).--
335 The Poncas have four ratified treaties (Howard 1965). (See
336 Appendix II for treaty texts.)

337 Despite the relatively remote locale of the Ponca, Santee,
338 and Yankton tribes to the frontier borders, they were
339 specifically included in some of the most significant early
340 treaty-making expeditions on the plains. The Yanktons were among
341 the tribes met and documented by the Lewis and Clark expedition
342 in 1804. The Lewis and Clark expedition visited a deserted Ponca
343 village in 1804, while the Poncas were away on their summer bison
344 hunt.

345 President Jefferson intended to achieve many goals beyond
346 merely exploring the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase with the
347 Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1806 (Ronda 1984). Jefferson
348 was keenly interested in establishing diplomatic relations which
349 would encourage trade in the newly-acquired territory. To
350 achieve this goal, the President realized the necessity of
351 acquiring detailed ethnographic information. Jefferson
352 recognized that the specter of incorporating plains tribes into
353 the lucrative "factory system" would be a political vindication
354 for his bold acquisition policy. The factory system (already
355 well-established with the eastern tribes) was a system of
356 government-operated trading posts, strategically located along
357 the frontier borders to facilitate and regulate trade with the
358 Indians. He also recognized that incorporating the vast
359 territory west of the Mississippi into the United States would
360 potentially provide a necessary "outlet" if removal of the
361 eastern tribes was warranted in the future (Prucha 1984).

362 The first official meeting between the United States

363 government and the leaders of the Yankton Sioux was well-
364 documented by the Lewis and Clark expedition. Lewis and Clark
365 were anxious to improve upon their initial diplomatic experience
366 with the Otos and Missourias. Ronda (1984:24) has suggested
367 that, "[W]hile the Oto and Missouri meetings were important as
368 first forays in frontier diplomacy, the explorers knew that talks
369 with any Sioux groups would be of lasting significance." For
370 their part, the Yanktons were equally anxious to secure their
371 foothold in the dynamic Missouri River fur trade evolving under
372 American control.

373 On the morning of August 30, 1804, the Corps of Discovery
374 began the official council with the Yankton delegation at Calumet
375 Bluff. Ronda (1984:24) describes the Yankton chiefs (e.g.,
376 Weuche and White Swan) as entering in "high ceremony" with
377 musicians and ceremonial protocol. Lewis began the proceedings
378 with a lengthy prepared speech (repeated for the duration of the
379 expedition with subsequent Indian nations) expounding themes of
380 American sovereignty and lucrative trade opportunities for the
381 Yanktons. Lewis also proposed the need to negotiate a lasting
382 peace between the Yanktons and the Oto, Missouria, and Omaha
383 nations.

384 The Americans were well received, and on the following day,
385 the Yanktons laid out their own proposals. Chief Weuche was
386 intent on seizing the opportunity to enhance the economic and
387 political position of the Yanktons, vis-a-vis the Missouri River
388 trade and the larger regional and global economy (Ronda 1984).
389 The Yanktons had ample prior experience with the English and
390 Spanish and "pointedly complained, [that] the Yanktons needed
391 more than bits of bronze and silver to fend off poverty" (Ronda
392 1984:25). Towards this end, Chief Weuche suggested that the
393 Yanktons required greater access to trade goods, namely firearms
394 and ammunition (Ronda 1984). Chief Weuche also maneuvered to
395 insert himself and the Yanktons into the diplomatic milieu to act
396 as intermediaries with other Indian nations on behalf of the
397 Americans (Ronda 1984).

398 In the early days of the expedition, the experience with the
399 powerful, friendly Yanktons was considered a grand success:

400 Here were Sioux headmen and warriors who welcomed the
401 Americans and gladly joined the new trade system. The
402 expedition's diplomacy appeared to have come of
403 age...Worries about 'the nations above' were easily
404 discounted in the glow of proceedings at Calumet Bluff.
405 (Ronda 1984:26)

406 The positive experience with the Yanktons proved to be
407 diametrically opposed to the "hostile" encounter waiting upriver
408 when Lewis and Clark met the Tetons.

409 The historic meeting between the Yanktons and the Corps of
410 Discovery (Lewis and Clark expedition) made an indelible
411 impression on the Yanktons as well as the relatively
412 inexperienced expedition leaders. Among the more colorful
413 legends (handed down through oral history) which has survived to
414 the present is the story of the birth of Yankton Chief Struck-by-
415 the-Ree. Reportedly, Struck-by-the-Ree, son of a prominent
416 Yankton headman, was born during the Lewis and Clark visit in
417 1804. The American delegation requested that the baby be
418 presented to them and reportedly wrapped the newborn in an
419 American flag and predicted that "he would someday become a
420 leader among his people and a steadfast friend of the whiteman"
421 (Sansom-Flood and Bernie 1985:5). Struck-by-the-Ree was likely
422 not the name given to him at birth, but was probably acquired at
423 some point later in his life, possibly as a result of a skirmish
424 with the Arikaras or "Ree" (Sansom-Flood and Bernie 1985).

425 *Padaniapapi*, or Struck-by-the-Ree, eventually became the
426 *Wicasa Itancan*, most influential chief of the *Ihanktonwan*
427 (Yanktons) for more than three decades (Sansom-Flood and Bernie
428 1985). Struck-by-the-Ree's leadership was instrumental in
429 guiding a peaceful government-to-government relationship
430 throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. He
431 vigorously supported the Treaty of 1858, although later in life
432 he reportedly regretted that decision: "[I]f I had understood
433 from what my grandfather told me that I was to be treated as I
434 have been, I would never have done as I have done; I never would
435 have signed the treaty" (*Congressional Globe*, 1866, in Sansom-
436 Flood and Bernie 1985:6).

437 As a result of the Lewis and Clark expedition, considerable
438 ethnographic and demographic information about various Plains
439 tribes is available to researchers and scholars today. Of
440 particular relevance to the NIMI study area are the notes from
441 the expedition which have provided some of the earliest reliable
442 ethnographic, geographic, and demographic information available
443 about the Omaha, Ponca, Yankton, and Teton Sioux tribes.

444 As treaties of cession became commonplace on the plains,
445 various tribes attempted to outmaneuver neighboring tribes in
446 treating for the acknowledged ownership and, therefore, monetary
447 compensation for the cession of "aboriginal territories" (Wishart
448 1994). For example, in the Ponca Treaty of 1858, the Poncas were
449 constrained in defining their aboriginal territory for cession
450 because the Pawnee and Omaha had already ceded all but 2.3
451 million acres included in the Ponca homeland (Wishart 1994). The
452 Poncas claimed over 25 million acres of hunting territory in the
453 present states of Nebraska and South Dakota (Lake 1981:454).
454 These issues resurfaced during the proceedings of the Indian
455 Claims Commission (1948-1978) and resulted in numerous disputes
456 between various tribes seeking to define their aboriginal
457 territories for compensation (see Wishart 1990; Wishart 1994;

458 Sutton 1975).

459 In another move that is exemplary of complete American
460 hegemony over Indian territories, Congress officially ended
461 bilateral treaty-making with Indian nations in 1871.
462 Consequently, "...until March 3, 1871, Indian titles to lands
463 were extinguished only under the treaty-making clause of the
464 Constitution" (Royce 1899:640). After 1871, real estate
465 transactions were negotiated unilaterally via "Executive
466 Agreements" which function in many of the same ways as treaties.
467 Executive Agreements exemplify the guardian/ward relationship
468 which has characterized much of the historical federal/Indian
469 relationship.

470 With treaties of cession, the federal government assumed a
471 new role with Native Americans, a marked departure from the
472 "economic partnerships" embodied by the trade and intercourse
473 treaties. The real estate transactions and the creation of
474 reservations spawned a new role for the government as "trustee"
475 of Indian lands, natural resources, and trust funds (which are
476 managed by the U.S. Treasury) (Deloria 1994). The federal
477 government has a "trust" responsibility with the federally-
478 recognized Indian nations which includes 1) provision of treaty-
479 guaranteed goods and services (health, education, housing, etc.);
480 2) protection; and 3) trusteeship of Indian assets (Deloria
481 1994).

482 Hoover estimates the Yanktons ceded sole claim to 13,356,000
483 acres and partial claim to 60,308,000 acres (Hoover 1976:125).
484 The Poncas ceded aboriginal title to 2,334,000 acres (Wishart
485 1990:98). The Santees (Mdwakantons, Wahpekutes, Sissetons, and
486 Wahpetons) ceded aboriginal claim to approximately 21,000,000
487 acres (Hoover 1994:161).

488 REMOVAL, RELOCATION, AND RESERVATIONS

489 With western expansion and settlement of the frontier, came
490 increasing pressure to extinguish the Indian title to lands as
491 recognized by the Doctrine of Discovery. Initially, this
492 pressure was greatest east of the Mississippi and resulted in
493 grand schemes in the 1820s and 1830s to segregate and remove
494 eastern Indians away from the American frontier (Prucha 1984).
495 In this manner, the "Five Civilized Tribes" (Cherokee, Chickasaw,
496 Choctaw, Seminole, and Creek) and others were permanently removed
497 to reserved lands in Indian Territory during this period. The
498 Cherokee Trail of Tears stands as a well-documented result of
499 this policy (Prucha 1984; Olson and Wilson 1984). Removal
500 policies enjoyed support from both the Christian Reformers, who
501 felt that segregation away from American settlers was the only
502 solution to "save" the Indians, and from speculators, settlers,
503 and politicians who wanted the former reservations opened for
504 American settlement and development.

assigned an Episcopal priest, Paul Mazakute, who built three schools on the reservation (Sansom-Flood et al. 1989). Presbyterian minister Reverend John P. Williamson established his own mission at the Yankton reservation. Befriended by Chief Struck-by-the-Ree, Reverend Williamson became the "most influential missionary on the Yankton Reservation" for the next 47 years (Sansom-Flood et al. 1989:16). Williamson's strategy was to teach Yanktons to read and write (and convert to Christianity) by using their own language. Towards this end, he established a bilingual newspaper (*Iapi Oaye*), and wrote an English/Dakota dictionary and a Dakota language hymnal (Sansom-Flood et al. 1989).

By 1874, the missionaries had built seven schools and six churches on the Yankton reservation. Reverend Williamson exercised his considerable power to effectively ban the Sacred Pipe religion. The last nineteenth-century Yankton Sun Dance was performed on the reservation in 1873 (Sansom-Flood et al. 1989:10). In the 1880s, a new tribal court system was established, which ultimately undermined the traditional ways of handling grievances and disputes among the Yanktons. Preferential treatment was meted out to Yankton "progressives" who supported the Civilization Programs: "[Y]anktons who dressed in whiteman's clothing, attended church, and told the agent they no longer followed Sioux customs, were 'competent'" (Sansom Flood et al. 1989:31). However, the Agents and missionaries were not successful in completely "stamping out" the old ways; generally the traditionalists went "underground" and continued to practice their traditions.

The "Old" Ponca Reservation

The Poncas' bargaining position with the federal government for cession of their ancestral homelands was constrained by the earlier cessions made by the Omahas and Pawnees: "From 1855 on they repeatedly expressed their willingness to sell their lands in return for a reservation and annuities" (Wishart 1994:133). In December of 1857, a delegation of Ponca leaders travelled to Washington, D.C., to negotiate the terms of their first treaty of cession with the United States of America. The proposal the Ponca delegation presented to Indian Commissioner Charles Mix defined the boundaries of their territory for sale, set the price, and outlined the services they required (Wishart 1994). Commissioner Mix, unwilling to seriously consider the Ponca proposal, dictated a considerably lesser settlement (Wishart 1994). The Poncas received the equivalent of 19.5 cents per acre for their 2.3 million acre cession (Wishart 1994:107). The fair market value of their land at the time of the extinguishment of their aboriginal title in 1858 was \$1 per acre (Wishart 1990).

The Poncas were settled on their newly-established 58,000-acre reservation in 1859. The original reservation was situated

on "sub-marginal" lands, devoid of adequate timber, hay, or agricultural potential. Eventually, the Poncas were allowed to negotiate a supplemental treaty which expanded their reservation to 96,000 acres in 1865 (see Appendix II). The early reservation years were extremely difficult for the Poncas who endured droughts, grasshopper infestations, inadequate provisions, poverty, hunger, and incessant raiding by the Teton Sioux:

The inadequate rations were only one example of the failure of the reservation policy to secure the lives of the Ponca. Their annuity from the 1858 treaty was...inadequate, being about 'one-third to one-half as much per capita as [that of] the other Tribes which they visit.' Their annual cash payment in the second half of the 1860s was less than five dollars per person. After payment of the previous year's debts they often had nothing left. The remainder of the annuity--the 'useful goods'---also left much to be desired. The delivery in 1862, for example, included a large amount of useless axes, a supply of fish hooks and lines which did not work for catching fish, thirty-six dozen pairs of mirrors which were simply left on the ground, and spoons, butcher knives, and scissors which were already in abundance at the village.
(Wishart 1994:150)

In addition, the government failed to live up to the treaty stipulation (Article 2, 1858 Treaty) of providing "protection" to the Poncas who suffered repeated depredations by the Brulé, non-Indian settlers, and, on occasion, the very soldiers charged with carrying out their protection (Wishart 1994; Mulhair 1992).

Life on the Ponca reservation became exceedingly difficult after the inadvertent cession of nearly the entire Ponca reservation to the Teton Sioux in the Treaty of Ft. Laramie of 1868 (Article 2 established the "Great Sioux Reservation"--which included the former Ponca reservation lying north of the Niobrara River). The Poncas were thus trapped in the geopolitical crossfire of federal Indian policy and the intensification of aggressive behavior on the part of the powerful Brulé band.

The Government was intent on concentrating all Indians on a few reservations, primarily in the Northern Plains and Indian Territory (Wishart 1994). In this context, the solution to the troublesome "Ponca problem" was to remove them to Indian Territory. As Lake (1981:501) has observed, "that policy was neither clearly articulated nor universally followed," offering little comfort for the displaced Poncas.

In fact, ample evidence exists to suggest that the Poncas have been treated unfairly throughout their official relationship with the federal government (Jackson 1881; Tibbles 1972; Ritter

785 1994).

786 Several persons close to the Ponca case observed that
787 small, weak, and peaceful tribes received worse
788 treatment than larger, more powerful, and certainly
789 more hostile tribes. While the Poncas were starving,
790 wagon loads of supplies for the far more hostile Sioux
791 were delivered. The Poncas observed this, as did many
792 whites interested in justice for the Poncas. (Lake
793 1981:501-502)

794 Embroiled in political and military struggles with the powerful
795 Tetons, the Government behaved towards the peaceful Poncas as if
796 they were "expendable."

797
798 The Poncas became desperate to protect their families and
799 well-being. At one point, in 1873, the Ponca chiefs negotiated
800 an agreement with the Omaha chiefs to purchase a portion of the
801 Omaha reservation to relocate away from the incessant Teton
802 raiding (Lake 1981:459). Standing Bear was one of the Ponca
803 chiefs who signed this agreement. However, the agreement never
804 materialized and at subsequent hearings held on the "Ponca
805 Affair," many of the Ponca chiefs, including Standing Bear,
806 claimed that when they initially agreed to consider relocating
807 from their Niobrara reservation, they believed their destination
808 would be the Omaha reservation, not Indian Territory (Lake 1981).
809 *The Ponca Trail of Tears*

810 Rather than protect the Poncas (as promised in the Treaty of
811 1858), the government's solution was to remove them to Indian
812 Territory, voluntarily or involuntarily. The decision was
813 hastened by the government's intent to immediately move Spotted
814 Tail's Brulé agency closer to the Missouri (onto the former Ponca
815 reservation), for purposes of greater military supervision
816 (federal troops were stationed at nearby Ft. Randall) and to
817 facilitate the dispensing of annuities. In 1876, \$25,000 was
818 appropriated to remove the Poncas to Indian Territory, ostensibly
819 with their consent (Tibbles 1972:122).

820 The Poncas were not allowed adequate time to council about
821 their pending removal (Lake 1981). Ten chiefs travelled with
822 Indian Inspector Kemble to Indian Territory to survey possible
823 reservation sites in 1877. Displeased with the "hot country"
824 (and their reception), the Poncas clashed with Kemble and,
825 according to their accounts, were abandoned by Kemble to make
826 their way back home with little money, provisions, or an
827 interpreter. This fresh experience with Indian Territory and
828 Inspector Kemble did not bode well for gaining the trust of the
829 Poncas. Reportedly, Chief Standing Bear was particularly vocal
830 in his opposition to the pending removal and was imprisoned (with
831 his brother, Big Snake) at Ft. Randall until the second
832 contingent of Poncas was prepared for removal.

833 Kemble called in troops from Ft. Randall to "escort" the
834 Poncas off their reservation. The forced removal of the Poncas
835 commenced in May of 1877. The first contingent to depart with
836 Special Agent Kemble was the group of Poncas who were "willing"
837 (i.e., did not require force) to remove. Although their journey
838 was difficult, the hardships associated with the second
839 contingent came to be known as the "Ponca Trail of Tears." Bad
840 weather, a lack of provisions, and poor planning contributed to
841 the miserable conditions endured on the trail. Many Poncas died
842 of exposure, disease, and injury on the way to Indian Territory
843 and in the weeks and months after their arrival. Chief Standing
844 Bear's daughter was among the casualties, and she was given a
845 Christian burial by the citizens of Milford, Nebraska, a
846 humanitarian gesture which greatly impressed Chief Standing Bear.
847 No provisions had been made for the Poncas when they arrived in
848 Indian Territory. The poor management of their removal directly
849 contributed to high rates of morbidity and mortality; nearly one-
850 quarter of the tribe died within two years of their removal
851 (Howard 1965).

852 *The Trial of Chief Standing Bear*

853 In the winter of 1879, following the death of his son, Chief
854 Standing Bear led a party of 29 disaffected Poncas out of Indian
855 Territory, toward their former home on the Niobrara. They were
856 intercepted on the Omaha reservation and taken into custody under
857 the authority of General George Crook. Their dramatic story was
858 publicized by Thomas Henry Tibbles, editor of the *Omaha Daily*
859 *Herald*, who rallied the good citizens of Omaha to the defense of
860 Standing Bear and his followers (Tibbles 1972). Tibbles secured
861 the expertise of two prominent attorneys, John L. Webster and
862 Andrew J. Poppleton, to defend Standing Bear, *Ma-Chu-nah-zha*, in
863 the first American Indian civil rights case to be tried in the
864 American courts, *United States ex. rel. Standing Bear v. Crook*,
865 (25 F. Cas. 695; 1879). The case came to trial on April 30,
866 1877, in the Nebraska U.S. District Court of Judge Elmer S.
867 Dundy.

868 The fundamental question addressed in the Standing Bear case
869 was the precise status of Indians under the U.S. Constitution.
870 Article I of the Constitution excludes non-taxpaying persons from
871 American citizenship, but the legal status of Indians was not
872 entirely clear. Ponca attorneys Webster and Poppleton filed a
873 writ of habeas corpus:

874 The Application alleged simply that the applicants were
875 illegally deprived of their liberty, that they had committed
876 no crime, that they were ignorant of the reason for their
877 arrest and confinement, and that they desired the court to
878 inquire into the matter and order their release (Lake
879 1981:475).

rights activist John Collier to the post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933 ushered in a period of political and economic innovation, the likes of which has not been seen since in Indian Country (Taylor 1980; Kelly 1983). However, the reception of these innovations proved to be a mixed bag. Some tribes welcomed the "Indian New Deal" as a much-needed respite from the assault on tribalism wrought by allotment and assimilation policies. Other tribes, ever wary of the idea of government-sponsored change, ultimately rejected the reforms proposed by the Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, 48 Stat. 984) in tribal referenda (Taylor 1980; Clemmer 1986). Regardless of whether a particular tribe accepted or rejected the Indian Reorganization Act, the legislation and policies initiated during the Collier years has left an indelible mark on contemporary American Indian affairs. This legacy is articulated in the organization of contemporary tribal political life and the manner in which the federal government conceives of and deals with federally-recognized tribes.

Prelude to the Indian New Deal

The historical context of the passage of the Indian New Deal legislation and policy deserves brief examination. While some have criticized the charismatic Commissioner Collier and his goals as "idealistic," no commentator could fail to acknowledge the dire straits Indians faced in the early twentieth century. Largely due to the tireless advocacy work of Collier and other reformers in the 1920s, the "Indian problem" was beginning to get some long-overdue attention at the federal level. Under political pressure, the Meriam Commission was established in 1927-1928 to document the plight of Native Americans and to provide substantive recommendations for future action. Before the Meriam Report, the American politicians and general public considered Native Americans to be a "vanishing race," an enigmatic people who somehow failed to fit in with prevailing progressive attitudes of twentieth-century America.

Although the socio-economic profiles came as no surprise to those familiar with life in "Indian Country," the grim realities of Indian life chronicled in the Meriam Report set in motion a humanistic response to resolve the many problems evident in Indian Country. The Meriam Report provided documented proof that while the Indians were undeniably suffering from abject poverty, poor health, and racist policies, they were not dying out as a people. The message was clear, the federal government had an "Indian problem" and was obliged to deal with it.

The Meriam Commission collected socio-economic data throughout the United States in 1928 (Brookings Institution 1971, originally published in 1928). Among the most telling of the statistics are those that reflect the extreme levels of poverty. The Commission found that the average per capita annual income of

Indian citizens was less than \$200 in 1928 (Taylor 1980:7). On the Yankton reservation, per capita income in 1926 was \$149; by 1933, annual per capita income had fallen to a mere \$1.28 (Clow 1989:365-67). The roots of this poverty lay in decades of dependency fostered by the reservation system but perhaps more directly by the dispossession due to alienation of individual allotments after the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887, exacerbated by the Great Depression and the collapse of the farm economy. The destruction of traditional resource bases and landlessness were acute problems throughout the United States on the eve of the Indian New Deal.

The Civil Works Administration found that in 1933, 49 percent of all Indians on allotted reservations were landless and that the per capita value of the remaining land averaged only \$800 (Taylor 1980:7). A particularly poignant statistic which gives insight into the overall quality of life on Indian reservations was the infant mortality rate for 1934 which averaged twice the rate of non-Indian infant deaths (Taylor 1980:9).

The legacy of the allotment policy was clearly a factor in the debates that surrounded the IRA legislation. Representative Edgar Howard (D-Nebraska), who sponsored the Wheeler-Howard Act in the House, gave an emotional speech on June 15, 1934, regarding the roots of Indian poverty:

In 1887 our Indian wards numbered 243,000. They owned 137,000,000 acres of land, more than one-third good farming land and a considerable portion of valuable timberlands. Today they number about 200,000. Their land holding has shrunk to a mere 47,000,000 acres. Of this remnant only 3,500,000 acres may be classed a farming lands, 8,000,000 acres as timberlands of any value, 16,000,000 acres as good grazing lands, and 19,000,000 acres, almost one-half the Indian land remaining, as desert or semiarid lands of limited value. (Dippie 1982:315)

Representative Howard (in Dippie 1982:315) went on to say that in 1887 there were less than 5,000 landless Indians, but that figure had increased twenty-fold by 1934 to more than 100,000. And he went on to observe that Indian trust funds, which amounted to approximately \$29 million in 1887, had collected and disbursed over \$500 million, leaving just \$13.5 million coupled with rampant poverty by 1934. In 1934, at the height of the Great Depression, Howard reported to Congress that total family incomes of Indians were a mere \$48 per year. He also reported that mortality rates had risen from 18 per 1,000 in 1887 to 26 per 1,000 in 1934.

One of the most obvious culprits of separating Indians from their trust-protected allotments was the federal competency

commission which criss-crossed the nation's reservations expediting the patenting of Indian allotments. When Indian allotments passed out of trust status, the allottee received a patent in fee simple, which gave the allottee title to the property and returned the land to taxable status. Typically, patented allotments were sold to land speculators or settlers to help alleviate abject poverty (Wishart 1994). Patented allotments were frequently sold to satisfy debts with local merchants.

Between 1915-1920, the federal competency commission issued 20,000 fee patents for allottees with one-half Indian blood quantum or less (Taylor 1980:5). This pattern of distinguishing between full-bloods and mixed-bloods in terms of competency for fee patents (which were generally sold) eventually fueled contentious factionalism within many tribes. Because of the Commission's work, full-bloods were much more likely to have retained their allotments in 1934 (due to trust protections) than the mixed-blood members of their tribe (Taylor 1980). This dichotomy of landless mixed-bloods vs. landed full-bloods proved to be divisive in the years to come.

The Meriam Report strongly recommended that Congress curtail allotment policy and move to restore the tribal landbase. The repudiation of allotment policy, however, was more than land reform; it was nothing short of repudiation of assimilation policy (Dippie 1982:315). Assimilation into the dominant society had long been considered the most appropriate solution to the Indian problem. Consequently, the federal debate began to focus on questions of the desirability and/or the success of assimilation policy.

John Collier and the "Indian New Deal"

The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) is considered to be among the most important pieces of legislation to affect Indians in the twentieth century (Hauptman 1992:326; O'Brien 1989). At the very least, the package of legislation and policy reforms which accompanied the Indian New Deal signalled an "attitudinal change towards Indians and tribal government" (Deloria and Lytle 1983:100).

The Act was intended to reorganize American Indian tribes politically, with the specific goal of "home rule" which sought a return to self-determination and limited autonomy for tribal governments (Clemmer 1986; Hauptman 1992). The reforms also targeted economic reorganization, with the introduction of a number of economic development programs for tribally-sanctioned corporations. Under the IRA, tribal governments were encouraged to set up corporate charters to facilitate economic development:

1204 According to Collier, the Act was intended to implement
1205 these policies: economic rehabilitation; organization
1206 of the Indian tribes for managing their own affairs;
1207 provision of civil and cultural freedom; and a return
1208 to the bilateralism that had characterized U.S.-Indian
1209 relations in the treaty-making period which ended in
1210 1871. (Clemmer 1986:19)

1211 Collier was interested in preserving "the biological Indian and
1212 Indian cultures," and as a staunch environmentalist, he was
1213 committed to the conservation of natural resources (Taylor
1214 1980:30).

1215 The goal of shifting federal policy away from paternalism
1216 and toward tribal self-determination was evident in Collier's
1217 commitment to taking the proposed reforms directly to the various
1218 tribal governments. The IRA was the first piece of major Indian
1219 legislation ever taken into "Indian Country" for open debate
1220 since the Congressional renunciation of bilateral treaty-making
1221 in 1871 (McNickle 1980). Collier held ten "Indian Congresses"
1222 between March 2 and April 24, 1934, to promote the IRA (Dippie
1223 1982:311). Special priority was given to convincing the Navajos
1224 and the Sioux tribes to accept the reforms (Taylor 1980).

1225 The Act was also the first major piece of Indian legislation
1226 whose acceptance or rejection was left up to the individual
1227 tribes by the explicit design of the Act (Dippie 1982:317). This
1228 "voluntary" feature of the IRA eventually proved to be one of the
1229 most significant obstacles to implementing the reforms Collier
1230 envisioned. "Between October 28, 1935 and January 15, 1939,
1231 ninety-seven Indian tribes framed constitutions for self-
1232 government, which were approved under the Act of June 18, 1934"
1233 (Cohen 1940:40).

1234 *Provisions of the IRA*

1235 Despite the fact that Collier's original bill had been pared
1236 down considerably by Congress, Collier maintained that the most
1237 essential ingredients of his envisioned reforms remained intact.
1238 The major provisions of the IRA included: 1) the repeal of the
1239 allotment laws; 2) permission to restore surplus reservation
1240 lands to tribal ownership; 3) voluntary exchanges of restricted
1241 trust lands for shares in tribal corporations; 4) the
1242 appropriation of \$2 million annually for the purchase of
1243 additional tribal lands; 5) the establishment of a \$10 million
1244 revolving credit fund to provide loans to chartered tribal
1245 corporations; and 6) an additional appropriation of \$250,000 a
1246 year for organizing tribal governments and to establish a loan
1247 fund for Indians seeking college or vocational training. The Act
1248 explicitly provided for tribal referenda to determine whether
1249 each reservation would voluntarily participate in the IRA. Such
1250 referenda were to commence within one year at each reservation

1251 (later extended to two years). If the reservation community
1252 accepted the IRA the tribal governing body was obligated to
1253 prepare a constitution for ratification by the majority of the
1254 tribal members (pending approval of the Secretary of the
1255 Interior). Interestingly, if the reservation rejected the IRA,
1256 these tribes would stay under the direct control of the BIA--
1257 i.e., there would be no change.

1258 Because most tribes had limited experience with
1259 representative democratic constitutions, a model constitution was
1260 prepared by Nathan Margold and Felix Cohen (Taylor 1980:37). The
1261 organizational staff sent teams of attorneys around to the
1262 reservations which had accepted the IRA to present the model
1263 constitution and advise changes that would best reflect the
1264 circumstances of the individual reservations. The basic format
1265 of the IRA tribal constitutions authorized by the Act were
1266 remarkably uniform, with nine articles covering territory,
1267 membership, governing body, powers of the tribal council,
1268 elections, removals from office, referenda, land, and amendments
1269 (Taylor 1980:97-98).

1270 One of the most noteworthy consequences of the Indian New
1271 Deal era was the beginning of the codification of Indian law
1272 under the direction of Interior Department Solicitors Nathan
1273 Margold and Felix Cohen (Taylor 1980):

1274 This made explicit in statutory law for the first time the
1275 principle, which the courts had followed since Justice
1276 Marshall's rulings in the 1830s, recognizing the residual
1277 right of Indian tribes to govern themselves. (McNickle
1278 1973:94)

1279 This codification was necessary in order to draft the IRA
1280 legislation and to draw up the model constitutions facilitated by
1281 the IRA. In this context, Margold was responsible for laying out
1282 the basic tenets of tribal sovereignty which are still
1283 acknowledged in Indian law today.

1284 *Accomplishments of the IRA*

1285 Under the IRA, approximately 2 million acres of land were
1286 restored to the tribal landbase under the land reconsolidation
1287 provisions of the Act (Taylor 1980:121). This was accomplished
1288 primarily through the transfer of public domain lands on the
1289 reservations back to the control of the tribes. The IRA also
1290 extended the trust period indefinitely for allottees who had not
1291 yet received fee patents (Dippie 1982:316). This provision also
1292 contributed to the ability of full-blood allottees to retain
1293 their allotments.

1294 However, contrary to Collier's intent, the IRA did not allow
1295 the Secretary of the Interior to purchase non-Indian lands on the

1296 "checkerboarded" reservations. In all, 2,755,019 acres were
1297 added to the tribal landbase between 1934 and 1940 (Taylor
1298 1980:123). Of this, only 20 percent of the lands were purchased
1299 by tribal corporations or exchanged under the land
1300 reconsolidation provisions of the IRA (Taylor 1980:123).

1301 Despite the end of allotment and the provisions to enhance
1302 tribal landbases, examination of Indian land tenure in the
1303 immediate post-IRA period revealed that seven million acres
1304 remained in heirship status (1937) and 17.5 million acres were
1305 still held by the original allottees (Taylor 1980:124). Taylor
1306 (1980:124) estimates that despite the land reform programs,
1307 Indian tribes acquired only one-tenth of the landbase necessary
1308 to make economic development a reality on the nation's
1309 reservations.

1310 With the outbreak of World War II, the attention and
1311 resources of the federal government pertaining to Indian affairs
1312 were abruptly curtailed. Indian Service appropriations for this
1313 era are indicative: in 1935, the Indian Service Budget included
1314 \$28,146,105; by 1938 that figure had jumped to \$47,942,541; and
1315 in 1944 the Indian Service Budget was returned to pre-IRA levels
1316 of \$28,000,000 (Taylor 1980:140).

1317 Commissioner John Collier, as an administrator, lobbyist,
1318 and humanistic reformer, achieved an exceedingly high level of
1319 change in the bureaucratic machinery guiding federal Indian
1320 policy. By the same token, he added an additional layer of
1321 federal oversight to implement his policies (Hauptman 1992),
1322 which was highly unpopular with many tribal governments and
1323 political observers. Perhaps the aspect of the IRA which was
1324 most vulnerable to criticism was the charge that the Collier
1325 administration designed and superimposed a representative
1326 democratic system which was foreign to most of the American
1327 Indian nations in the United States.

1328 *Self-Determination vs. Assimilation in the IRA*

1329 Collier managed to ignite a firestorm of opposition from many
1330 different corridors, Indian and non-Indian alike. Many Indians
1331 were suspicious that "...John Collier, a native of Georgia, was
1332 out to secure a slick, updated form of segregation without
1333 removal" (Dippie 1982:313). As LaFarge (in Clemmer 1986:21)
1334 commented, "The idea that members of the government should do
1335 anything for them for idealistic reasons is impossible for them
1336 to receive."

1337 Some saw Collier's advocacy of communal economic development
1338 and land tenure as a "communist plot." Others vehemently opposed
1339 the abandonment of assimilation policies. For many, particularly
1340 powerful Western interests, the specter of empowering tribal
1341 governments to reacquire land and control of natural resources

(Mulhair 1992); it was transferred to Indian Territory during the forced removals of 1877 and reestablished for the Northern Poncas who returned to Nebraska in 1881 under the Santee Agency. When the Santee Agency was closed in 1917, the Poncas and Santees were transferred to the Yankton Agency for supervision. When the Yankton Agency was closed in 1933, the Poncas and Santees were transferred to the Winnebago Agency, and the Yanktons were returned to Rosebud for supervision (Federal Records Center 1965:2). Despite the similarities, there exist considerable differences in the reactions and ultimate consequences of the IRA for the Poncas, Santees, and Yankton Sioux.

For the purposes of the case studies, two kinds of tribal governments recognized under the IRA charters are important: representative and general council. Representative tribal governments are elected governing bodies that operate under a constitution which tribal members have approved in referenda. General councils are more closely associated with the traditional mode of governing among Sioux tribes. The general council is composed of all adult tribal members. Under this form of government, the tribal membership adopts bylaws which govern and control the tribal officers, but these tribal officials have limited authority. When a substantive issue arises, officers call a general council meeting of the tribe and the members vote on the issue (Deloria and Lytle 1983:108). The Ponca and Santee Sioux tribes chose representative governments (as did most of the IRA tribes); however, the Yanktons chose to stay with a general council style of government.

Ponca Tribe of Native Americans of Nebraska

The Ponca Tribe of Native Americans of Nebraska accepted the IRA. They ratified an IRA constitution on February 29, 1936, which was subsequently approved by Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, on April 3, 1936 (see Appendix I). The vote was 68 in favor and 13 opposed, with over 30 percent of those entitled to vote participating in the election (as per Section 16 of the IRA, amended in 1935).

The first Ponca constitution, adopted in 1935, was similar to the "model constitutions." The Ponca constitution provided for the extension of tribal jurisdiction throughout the boundaries of the reservation established by the 1858 and 1865 treaties. It established a governing body, and a nine-member "Board of Governors" to be elected on staggered three-year terms.

The Northern Ponca landbase was seriously eroded by 1934. Very few Poncas had held onto their allotments and those that remained were either heirship allotments (17, totalling about 2,800 acres) or fee patent allotments (six, for a total of 820 acres) with considerable mortgage or back taxes owed (Froehling 1993:120). The government still held title to the original

1481 agency allotment (Froehling 1993:120).

1482 Under the IRA, the new Ponca constitution allowed for
1483 "exchange assignments" which were devised as a way to deal with
1484 the troublesome issue of heirship allotments. The holder of a
1485 portion of an heirship allotment could voluntarily transfer
1486 interest in that land to the tribe; the tribe could then place
1487 the transferred land back into trust status (which was tax
1488 exempt) and reassign that parcel or one of equal value to the
1489 individual tribal member. Despite the relative advantages this
1490 kind of arrangement could have held, there is no evidence that
1491 Ponca tribal members participated in this IRA feature (Froehling
1492 1993):

1493 By the time the Constitution was adopted, only three
1494 fee patented land parcels were left. The remaining fee
1495 lands were sold in 1939, 1940, and 1946. Presumably
1496 because the Poncas allotted land was burdened by
1497 mortgages, it could not be returned to tribal trust
1498 status. Or the owners, for whatever reason, preferred
1499 to hold the land in fee ownership. There was also
1500 little interest in receiving land from the tribe for
1501 farming purposes, since no tribal lands were ever
1502 assigned to individuals. Instead they were leased to
1503 non-Indians. (Froehling 1993:127)

1504 Interestingly, none of the heirship allotments were exchanged for
1505 trust-protected shares under the IRA constitution (Froehling
1506 1993:129). By 1958, these allotments had become highly
1507 "fractionated" with two to 98 heirs per allotment (Froehling
1508 1993:129). The remaining heirship allotments were sold during
1509 the liquidation of the Northern Ponca reservation as a result of
1510 tribal Termination in the 1960s (Froehling 1993:130).

1511 The Poncas also ratified a corporate charter on August 15,
1512 1936. This charter allowed for the Ponca tribe to participate in
1513 a number of economic development opportunities set up under the
1514 IRA. According the report of J.W. Brewer, Farm Agent, the Ponca
1515 corporation took advantage of the revolving credit fund set up by
1516 the IRA. In 1937, the corporation successfully applied for
1517 \$7,000 for agricultural purposes, which was in turn loaned to
1518 seven of their farm families (total of \$6,086.56). Farm Agent
1519 Brewer (1939:45) reported that the seven families managed to pay
1520 their interest to the corporation (\$157.33) and added \$412 to the
1521 principal (despite grasshoppers and drought). By 1940, the Ponca
1522 tribe had received \$12,500 from the revolving credit fund (US
1523 Dept. of the Interior 1940:72). An additional \$20,245.73 had
1524 been advanced to individual tribal members. Total payments
1525 received on the loan principal were \$9,367, with \$3,466
1526 reportedly "delinquent" (Brewer 1940:72).

1527 The Ponca tribe also took advantage of the land purchase

1528 program to acquire an additional 691 acres of land. All of the
1529 land obtained was operated by Ponca families. In 1936/1937, the
1530 Northern Poncas re-purchased the Standing Bear allotment with an
1531 IRA revolving credit loan of \$2300 (Le Claire 1951). (Brewer
1532 (1940:45) reported statistics about the combined activities of
1533 the Ponca and Santee farmers at the Santee sub-agency in 1940.
1534 He observed that

1535 The Ponca and Santee Indian farm families operated, in
1536 addition to Indian and tribal trust land, 3,236 acres
1537 of white-owned land, or a total of 10,802 acres of land
1538 operated by both Ponca and Santee Indian farm families
1539 in 1938, as compared to about 1,500 acres operated by
1540 Indians in 1933 and 1934. (Brewer 1940:45)

1541 Brewer credits the IRA for the progress made, "[A] total
1542 valuation of all livestock and equipment on both reservation,
1543 owned and used by the Indian farm families in 1938 of \$58,490.26,
1544 which has been made possible mostly by the revolving credit fund
1545 and the Reorganization Act" (Brewer 1940:45).

1546 However, the Poncas did not take advantage of the provisions
1547 in the land reconsolidation features of the IRA to place
1548 individual allotments back into trust status (Froehling 1993;
1549 Ritter 1994). It is unclear why this opportunity to protect the
1550 remaining landbase was not exercised.
1551 *Santee Sioux*

1552 The Santee Sioux accepted the IRA by a vote of 260 in favor,
1553 27 opposed, at a referendum held November 17, 1934. After being
1554 approved by the Secretary of the Interior, the constitution and
1555 bylaws were accepted by the tribe, in a 284-60 vote, on February
1556 29, 1936. Meyer (1993:311) comments that, "The council elected
1557 that year proved a more effective instrument of community policy
1558 than the old rubber stamp body that had been instituted late in
1559 the nineteenth century and had existed nominally since then".

1560 The Constitution and Bylaws of the Santee Sioux Tribe of the
1561 Sioux Nation of the State of Nebraska, approved 1936, contained
1562 the standard nine articles of the model constitution (see
1563 Appendix I). These articles specifically addressed: territory,
1564 defined as that which was established under Executive Order of
1565 August 31, 1869, and for which tribal jurisdiction will not
1566 extend to any but the trust lands (not fee patent or alienated
1567 lands); membership (one-quarter blood quantum); establishment of
1568 a governing body (12-member tribal council); enumerated powers of
1569 the tribal council; tribal elections; removal from office; tribal
1570 referendum; land; and amendments to the constitution. Meyer
1571 (1993) suggests that the constitution and bylaws of the Santees
1572 reflect the "peculiar status of the Santees as Indians in an
1573 advanced stage of acculturation." Specifically, Meyer contends
1574 that the Santees were already leaning toward state jurisdiction

1575 for many civil and criminal matters.

1576 Like the Poncas, the Santees had suffered a lack of federal
1577 supervision and the gradual withdrawal of government services.
1578 This neglect was punctuated by the closing of the agency in 1917.
1579 The oversight responsibility for the Santees was transferred to
1580 the Yankton Agency at that time. In 1933 the Yankton Agency was
1581 closed and the Santees were transferred to the Winnebago Agency
1582 in Thurston County, Nebraska. Gabe Parker (a Choctaw) became the
1583 new superintendent at Winnebago. He was reportedly a "New
1584 Dealer," sympathetic to Collier's reforms (Meyer 1993:308).

1585 The Santees' experience with the erosion of their landbase
1586 was also very similar to that experienced by the Poncas. By the
1587 time the Santee Agency was closed in 1917, only 18,000 acres of
1588 their 115,000-acre reservation remained in Indian hands (Meyer
1589 1993). Of the 1,173 Santees, 735 were officially considered
1590 "competent" (Meyer 1993).

1591 The Santees and Poncas benefitted from the diligence of
1592 their new farm agent, J.W. Brewer. Superintendent Parker and
1593 Farm Agent Brewer concentrated on securing emergency relief as
1594 well as facilitating long-term economic development programs on
1595 the reservations. The Santees began receiving Emergency Relief
1596 Administration funding in 1933 and obtained direct relief from
1597 surplus mutton from the Navajos; they also received blankets,
1598 shoes, and clothing in 1933 and 1934 (Meyer 1993). In October of
1599 1934, the Santees were issued 130 cattle and given the freedom to
1600 eat them or use them to start their own herds (Meyer 1993). This
1601 is exemplary of the policies initiated during the Indian New Deal
1602 which returned greater autonomy and decision-making to the
1603 individual agencies, tribal councils, and reservation
1604 communities.

1605 The Santee tribal council recognized that these were only
1606 short-term solutions and endeavored to reacquire the landbase as
1607 a viable long-term strategy. By 1935, the alienation of
1608 allotments left only 3,132.29 acres from the original 115,000-
1609 acre reservation (Meyer 1993). Only 1,800 acres of fee patent
1610 land remained and most was subject to mortgages and unpaid back
1611 taxes. The Santee reservation is only marginally suited to
1612 commercial agriculture. The 1935 tribal council estimated that
1613 only 2,352 acres of this land could be considered suitable for
1614 agriculture. In Farm Agent Brewer's opinion, only three families
1615 of 105 had enough land to provide an income from agriculture,
1616 only 15 had sufficient land for subsistence needs and the
1617 remaining 87 families were "landless" for all intents and
1618 purposes (Meyer 1993:309). Under the IRA, the Santees (tribe and
1619 individuals combined) were able to purchase 3,368.54 acres in
1620 1936 and 1937 before funding dried up with the outbreak of World
1621 War II (Meyer 1993:309). The total acreage purchased for the
1622 Santee tribe under the IRA land purchase program totaled 2,544

1623 acres (Brewer 1940:45). The Santee Corporation successfully
1624 applied for a loan of \$20,000 for agricultural purposes, \$13,000
1625 of which was loaned out to 18 tribal members.

1626 The Collier administration was high on encouraging community
1627 self-help and rehabilitation programs. At Santee (and at
1628 Niobrara for the Poncas), a self-help community building was
1629 built in 1937. The self-help buildings had room for a tribal
1630 office, large kitchens (for community meetings), and large
1631 meeting rooms (at Santee the capacity was 200 persons). Sewing
1632 projects and canning of garden produce were encouraged
1633 activities. Monies (in the form of reimbursable loans) were made
1634 available to encourage tribal groups--the Santees received
1635 approximately \$10,000 for this purpose (Meyer 1993:310). These
1636 projects were fundamentally different than in the past because
1637 the initiatives and ideas were generated at the local level, by
1638 the Indians themselves.

1639 The impact of the IRA was beneficial but did not alleviate
1640 the problems of poverty on the Nebraska reservations. The
1641 Santees at the end of the 1930s were still far from self-
1642 sufficient. In 1940, Superintendent Parker reported that the
1643 condition of all the Nebraska Indian groups was

1644 "one of almost total dependence upon Federal Government
1645 for work and direct relief; Agency allotments and WPA,
1646 Social Security, ADC, Old Age Assistance, NYA, and the
1647 like"...He attributed the situation to more than ten
1648 years of drought and grasshopper infestations,
1649 livestock diseases, and lack of available employment
1650 for Indians off the reservation. (quoted in Meyer
1651 1993:312)

1652 As was true on the Ponca reservation, the alienation of fee
1653 patented allotted land continued; in 1936, the Santees had 3,242
1654 acres, in 1952 only 3,012 remained, and by 1960 the remaining
1655 allotted acres totalled only 2,563 (Meyer 1993:314).
1656

1657 Although the Santees took advantage of the provisions of the
1658 IRA, the long-term problems of landlessness, poverty, and
1659 unemployment persisted. Meyer (1993:296) suggests the Santee
1660 reservation experienced a mass exodus in the 1940s and 1950s
1661 "amounting almost to abandonment of the reservation."

1662 *The Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota*

1663 At the time of the IRA, the Yanktons were suffering from
1664 extreme poverty; most were completely dependent on relief for
1665 survival (Taylor 1980:101). In 1892, the total acreage allotted
1666 for the Yanktons was 268,000 acres (Hoover 1988:66). By 1940,
1667 the Yanktons retained only 42,086 acres (U.S. Department of the
1668 Interior 1940:36). Eighty percent of the allotted land was

1669 patented, and 80 percent of the Yanktons were landless (Taylor
1670 1980:44). The Yanktons accepted the IRA in a 1935 referendum but
1671 failed to ratify an IRA constitution, thereby forfeiting
1672 participation in the IRA (Hoover 1988).

1673 Taylor (1980) considers the Yanktons' IRA experience as a
1674 classic example of the struggle between landless mixed-bloods and
1675 landed full-bloods. Interestingly, the Yankton full-bloods
1676 successfully blocked the passage of the IRA constitution (1935)
1677 when only 17 percent had originally voted against accepting the
1678 IRA. Taylor suggests that the Yanktons had a history of internal
1679 disunity which was intensified by the IRA debates (1980). Many
1680 of the full-bloods still held their original allotments and were
1681 led by Clement Smith (Taylor 1980).

1682 The Yanktons had established their own business council in
1683 1932 (as had many plains tribes before the passage of the IRA).
1684 A constitution prepared by this council, led by Ben Reifel, was
1685 rejected by a close vote in 1935 (Taylor 1980). The Smith
1686 faction presented an alternative constitution (prepared by an
1687 attorney, R.T. Bonnin) in December of 1935. This constitution
1688 was sent to the Bureau with a petition signed by 300 Yanktons (30
1689 percent of the voters) urging acceptance by the Secretary of the
1690 Interior (Taylor 1980). This constitution was returned after an
1691 extensive review (nine months) with strong criticisms, the
1692 primary one being that the constitution would set up a virtual
1693 "political machine" and therefore required substantive revisions
1694 (Taylor 1980). In November 1936, a General Council meeting was
1695 called which resulted in a petition to request Bureau
1696 reconsideration of the Smith-Bonnin constitution. This request
1697 was also denied. Also in 1936, a group of landless Yanktons
1698 petitioned the Bureau for permission to draw up their own
1699 constitution, for the purposes of qualifying for the economic
1700 development programs available under the IRA. The request was
1701 denied by the Secretary of the Interior as being "contrary to the
1702 intent of the Wheeler-Howard Act" (Taylor 1980).

1703 By this time, the Indian Service had grown weary of attempts
1704 to organize the Yanktons and resorted to organizing at the
1705 *tiyospaye* (community) level within the reservation. One of
1706 Collier's pet IRA projects included the establishment of a number
1707 of "rehabilitation colonies" throughout the northern plains. The
1708 goal was to promote economic self-sufficiency through a return to
1709 communal living. In order to qualify for membership in the
1710 colonies, Indian families were required to give up their
1711 allotments (assuming they had any) and work collectively for the
1712 economic benefit of the group.

1713 The relief and rehabilitation programs were ambitious
1714 schemes designed and supervised by the Indian Relief and
1715 Rehabilitation (IRR) Division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs
1716 (established in 1936) (Bromert 1984). The IRR received an

1717 initial budget of \$2 million in 1936 to undertake the
1718 overwhelming task of turning the tide of Indian poverty and
1719 dependency on the nation's reservations. According to Bromert
1720 (1984:32), the "Bureau's objective was 'to clothe the Indian
1721 again with the dignity that comes from self-rule and self-
1722 support'". The IRR coordinated the technical assistance of other
1723 New Deal era programs (Work Projects Administration, Civilian
1724 Conservation Corps--Indian Division, and funding from the Indian
1725 Reorganization Act and Resettlement Administration for the
1726 purchase of submarginal lands) to supplement their efforts
1727 (Bromert 1984).

1728 *Rising Hail Colony*

1729 Because of the problems encountered on the Yankton
1730 reservation, the Indian Service directly targeted the Yanktons
1731 for the experimental rehabilitation programs. The largest colony
1732 was established at Rising Hail (also known as Chalk Rock), and
1733 smaller colonies were established at Greenwood, White Swan, and
1734 Choteau Creek. Rising Hail was considered to be a "model colony"
1735 by the IRR and will be discussed in detail below.

1736 The Rising Hail Colony (see Chapter 28 for location) was
1737 named in honor of Yankton Chief Rising Hail, although it was (and
1738 is) more commonly known as "Chalk Rock Colony" because of the
1739 distinctive local stone quarried from the Missouri River bluffs
1740 to construct the buildings of the Colony. When completed, the
1741 Colony consisted of nine identical chalk rock cottages, a two-
1742 story cannery, schoolhouse, chapel, and large barn (Bromert
1743 1984:38). The colonists were supplied with fresh water by means
1744 of a windmill.

1745 Because the Yankton Sioux never successfully organized under
1746 the IRA, the IRR sought to creatively extend those opportunities
1747 to the Yanktons anyway. The IRR programs were initiated
1748 cooperatively with the assistance of a three-member Yankton
1749 committee, the "Indian Rehabilitation Committee." Bromert
1750 (1984:39) characterizes the Committee as "the ex-officio tribal
1751 authority that dealt with BIA administrators concerning economic
1752 and political matters on the reservation." In 1938, the
1753 organization known as the "Rising Hail Cooperative Development
1754 Association" was formalized with a board of directors, general
1755 manager, and project officers (Bromert 1984:39). This
1756 organization drew up a constitution and bylaws and petitioned the
1757 Secretary of the Interior to recognize their authority to
1758 formally participate in the IRA revolving loan programs (Bromert
1759 1984).

1760 The Rising Hail Cooperative Development Association was
1761 successful in securing an \$8,000 loan for their first year's
1762 expenses (Bromert 1984:39). Their constitution required that all
1763 adult members work 40 hours per week and that any individually-

1764 owned property or livestock become the property of the Colony
1765 (Bromert 1984). Colonists were chosen on the basis of several
1766 criteria, with priority being given to individuals (and families)
1767 who were homeless, landless, of "good character," and willing and
1768 able to work (Bromert 1984:35). Members who chose to leave the
1769 cooperative were entitled to reimbursement for any property
1770 turned over to the Colony (Bromert 1984).

1771 The Rising Hail Colony was successful in its early stages
1772 and had become profitable by 1942. In 1942, the Colony had 600
1773 acres under cultivation and an additional 900 acres in pasture
1774 (Bromert 1984), as well as successful cannery and livestock
1775 operations. Yankton Farm Agent, August Nylander, estimated the
1776 annual cash income for the Colony was \$13,000 (Bromert 1984:40),
1777 over and above subsistence production.

1778 However, the initial good fortune was not destined to
1779 last. A series of chance events (e.g., grasshopper infestations,
1780 anthrax decimating the cattle herd, and the barn burning down),
1781 poor management, and increased agricultural mechanization
1782 eventually eroded the morale and productivity of the Colony
1783 (Bromert 1984). By 1949, the cooperative was defunct and had
1784 been transferred to a Yankton family (Steve Cournoyer family) to
1785 manage. Eventually, due to considerable bureaucratic obstacles
1786 which prevented the Cournoyers from obtaining loans for this
1787 property, the family resorted to leasing the former Colony to
1788 non-Indian farmers. The former Colony has fallen into disrepair,
1789 but the considerable structures are still largely intact (Hoover
1790 1988).

1791 On the Yankton reservation, despite the lack of an IRA
1792 government, the Yanktons who did not participate in
1793 rehabilitation projects did benefit in many ways. For example,
1794 the new tolerance engendered in the IRA era favored the
1795 reemergence of traditional arts and crafts, such as star quilts
1796 and beadwork. Many traditions which had gone underground, e.g.,
1797 speaking the Nakota language and participating in dances and
1798 ceremonies, reemerged. Hoover (1988:61) has observed that "Under
1799 the New Deal policies, traditional practices came into the open
1800 for the first time in two generations."

1801 The Yankton Sioux Tribal constitution adopted in 1963 (see
1802 Appendix I), does not closely resemble the "cookie-cutter"
1803 constitutions of the IRA era. The 1963 constitution is an
1804 amended version of the 1932 constitution, which the Secretary of
1805 the Interior originally disallowed as an IRA constitution. The
1806 elected officers of the Yankton Sioux Tribe are known as the
1807 "Yankton Sioux Tribal Business and Claims Committee." The
1808 General Council is composed of all adults (over age 21) who are
1809 enrolled Yankton Sioux members residing on the reservation. The
1810 General Council form of government has been retained. Hoover
1811 (1988:64) observed that by not changing the government into an

1812 IRA government, the Yanktons did not regain the appropriate
1813 political recognition until 1963.

1814 TERMINATION, RELOCATION, AND COMPENSATION

1815 After Collier's departure from the office of Commissioner of
1816 Indian Affairs in 1945, federal Indian policy vacillated once
1817 more towards outright assimilation of Native Americans. Set
1818 against the backdrop of the civil rights movement, post-war
1819 budget shortfalls, the Cold War, and the perceived need to open
1820 and develop the remaining reservation lands (rich with uranium,
1821 coal, timber, oil, and natural gas); the government set out to
1822 solve the "Indian problem" once and for all (Ritter 1994).

1823 This time the solution, touted by Utah Senator Arthur
1824 Watkins and others, was an ominous sounding policy called tribal
1825 "termination." Burt (1994:222) has commented that "Termination
1826 stood as the last in a long history of policies to extinguish
1827 tribalism and force the rapid assimilation of individual Native
1828 Americans." Termination was the ultimate assimilation policy
1829 because it forced the surrender of tribal identity and stripped
1830 tribal members of services and federal supports put into place as
1831 part of the federal "trust" responsibility (Ritter-Knoche 1990).

1832 Eventually, 109 tribes and bands were terminated under this
1833 policy between 1954 and 1962, affecting 13,263 Native Americans
1834 and an additional 1,365,801 acres of tribal trust land (Ritter
1835 1994; Grobsmith and Ritter 1992; Prucha 1984). The 109th tribe
1836 to be terminated was the Ponca Tribe of Native Americans of
1837 Nebraska (see Chapter 7). In 1962, the Northern Ponca Tribe was
1838 terminated, releasing 442 enrolled members from federal
1839 recognition; the remaining 834 acres of the Northern Ponca
1840 reservation was liquidated as well (Ritter 1994; Grobsmith and
1841 Ritter 1992). Northern Ponca termination was effective in 1966
1842 (Ritter 1994) (See Chapter 7 for more discussion of Ponca
1843 termination and restoration).

1844 Initially, Congress focused termination efforts towards
1845 resource-rich, assimilated tribes, e.g., the Menominee and
1846 Klamath, both "terminated" in 1954. However, as the more
1847 powerful tribes in "Indian Country" got wind of the changes
1848 afoot, Congress was forced to fall back and target the smaller,
1849 weaker tribes like the Poncas (Ritter 1994).

1850 The Aberdeen Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs reported
1851 in 1954 that the residents of the Yankton reservation were ready
1852 for federal withdrawal of services (termination) because of "the
1853 populations' high education level and tribesmen's inability to
1854 use fractionalized heirship lands" (Clow 1989:384). Ultimately,
1855 the Yanktons were spared the upheaval of tribal termination.

1856 *Relocation*

1857 Complementary legislative and administrative policies were
1858 formulated to smooth the transition of terminated tribes and
1859 tribal members to state supervision. One early scheme, actively
1860 promoted in the 1950s and 1960s, was to render the reservations
1861 obsolete by inducing reservation residents to relocate to major
1862 urban areas to find employment and greater opportunity (Prucha
1863 1984). Relocated families seldom found the reality of urban life
1864 equal to the promise marketed by the BIA. Many families accepted
1865 the BIA's one-way bus tickets to the cities only to return,
1866 disillusioned, once more to the reservations. Many other
1867 families, with nothing to return to, remained in the cities.
1868 Such was the experience for many Ponca families who had lost
1869 their original allotments and were not able to support their
1870 families in the tightening rural farm economy of Knox County,
1871 Nebraska (Ritter 1994).

1872 The Santees, Yanktons, and Poncas suffered from considerable
1873 reservation out-migration in the post-World War II era (Froehling
1874 1993; Meyer 1993; Hoover 1988; Ritter 1994). Tribal members
1875 became concentrated in the local urban areas (e.g., Sioux City, -
1876 Iowa; Yankton, South Dakota; and Omaha and Norfolk, Nebraska) as
1877 well as more distant locales (e.g., Minneapolis, Minnesota, and
1878 Denver, Colorado). The wide dispersion of tribal members was
1879 among the key factors contributing to the tribal termination of
1880 the Northern Poncas in 1962 (which became effective in 1966)
1881 (Ritter 1994).

1882 The Poncas, Santees, and Yanktons have also been subject to
1883 enhanced state jurisdictional authority as a direct result of
1884 termination policy. The Yankton Sioux reservation was
1885 "diminished" or "disestablished" by a 1984 South Dakota supreme
1886 court decision, resulting in increased jurisdictional disputes
1887 between the state and the Yankton Tribe (see Chapter 7 for
1888 discussion of the state diminishment of the Yankton Sioux
1889 reservation).

1890 Specifically, the Ponca and Santee tribes (as resident
1891 tribes of Nebraska) came under enhanced state jurisdiction over
1892 civil and criminal affairs as result of "Public Law 280" (Public
1893 Law No. 83-280, 67 Stat. 588), passed in 1953. Specifically,
1894 Public Law 280:

1895 granted five states (California, Minnesota, Nebraska,
1896 Oregon and Wisconsin) the mandatory right of criminal
1897 jurisdiction over offenses committed by or against
1898 Indians in Indian country and all civil causes of
1899 private action in state court that involved reservation
1900 Indians. The law restricted tribal rights in cases
1901 that conflicted with federal policy, treaty or
1902 executive agreements. If tribal and state laws
1903 conflicted, state laws took precedence. In addition,
1904 P.L.280 permitted the states the option to exercise

1905 civil and criminal jurisdiction without the consent of
1906 the Indian tribes. (Wilkins and Ritter 1994:308)

1907 P.L. 280 was later revised by the Indian Bill of Rights in
1908 1968 (Title IV), which allows P.L. 280 tribes to "retrocede" from
1909 state jurisdiction back to federal/tribal jurisdiction. The
1910 Santees and Poncas both came under the mandatory provisions of
1911 P.L. 280 in 1953 and although the Santees have the opportunity to
1912 retrocede they have not yet exercised this right. As a tribe
1913 terminated in 1962, the Northern Poncas' status vis-a-vis P.L.
1914 280 is unclear.

1915 *Compensation: Indian Claims Commission (1946-1978)*

1916 Questions of Indian dispossession took center stage with the
1917 establishment of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946 to
1918 adjudicate outstanding tribal grievances against the United
1919 States government in preparation for the withdrawal of federal
1920 services envisioned under termination. Ultimately, this resulted
1921 in the awarding of nearly one billion dollars by the Indian
1922 Claims Commission to the petitioning tribes for compensation
1923 (Sutton 1994:303). The Indian Claims Commission subtracted lands
1924 which were judged to have been occupied or utilized by, or
1925 sufficiently in conflict between two or more tribes:

1926 Thus former tribal areas came under careful review, were
1927 verified through a combination of cartographic, documentary,
1928 ethnographic, and other means, and adjudicated as part of
1929 tribal territory. (Sutton 1994:305)

1930 Legal discussions of recognized aboriginal territory
1931 generally defer to the official findings of the Indian Claims
1932 Commission as the definitive adjudication (including aboriginal
1933 territories discussed in this overview). Aboriginal territories
1934 of tribes in the NIMI region, as recognized through final
1935 decisions of the Indian Claims Commission, are shown on Map 29-2.
1936 The Commission's final report (United States Indian Claims
1937 Commission n.d.) identifies the dockets keyed by number to the
1938 territories shown on Map 29-2, and other published indices (Ross
1939 1973a, 1973b) serve as guides to Commission findings and to the
1940 expert testimony presented to the Commission.

1941 Between 1946 and 1978, six hundred dockets were filed, two
1942 hundred dockets were dismissed, and three hundred forty two
1943 received "favorable discussions" (Sutton 1994:305; United States
1944 Indian Claims Commission n.d.). However, the resulting
1945 compensations were paid out largely in per capita payments to
1946 individual tribal members (in the 1970s) and were generally quite
1947 small. The Indian Claims Commission was empowered only to make
1948 monetary awards; no Indian lands were restored. For this reason,
1949 many of the cases were appealed (e.g., the Black Hills case) to
1950 the U.S. Court of Claims (up to 1983) or the U.S. Court of

1951 Federal Claims (since 1983).

1952 The Poncas, Santees, and Yanktons were all beneficiaries of
1953 the Indian Claims Commission proceedings. However, in most
1954 cases, the eventual per capita payments received were exceedingly
1955 small relative to the losses endured. For example, in 1972, the
1956 Indian Claims Commission eventually awarded the Poncas \$1,878,500
1957 for the 1858 cession of their hunting grounds and an additional
1958 \$1,013,425 for the taking of their reservation in 1877 (Wishart
1959 1994:243). After the attorney's fees and the Southern Poncas'
1960 portion was subtracted, the per capita share of the award
1961 amounted to roughly \$1,500 for each of the terminated Northern
1962 Ponca tribal members.

1963 In historical context the termination era was pivotal in
1964 many regards. The threat of withdrawal of federal services and
1965 the severing of the treaty-obligated "trust" responsibility acted
1966 as a catalyst to forge new pan-Indian movements and to strengthen
1967 existing pan-tribal organizations dedicated to stopping
1968 termination, e.g., the National Congress of American Indians.
1969 Eventually, particularly after witnessing the turmoil experienced
1970 by the terminated tribes, the Congress and Administration came
1971 around to viewing tribal termination as a flawed policy. As
1972 early as 1960, John F. Kennedy voiced his opposition to the
1973 continuation of termination policy in a campaign speech.
1974 Unfortunately for the Poncas, who were terminated in 1962, the
1975 Bureau of Indian Affairs continued to pursue termination during
1976 the Kennedy Administration. It was not until 1988, that Congress
1977 officially "repudiated" termination policy (Grobsmith and Ritter
1978 1992).

1979 Deloria has suggested that perhaps too much emphasis has
1980 been placed on termination:

1981 While they were tediously attempting to terminate a few
1982 Indian tribes, the back door to the treasury was being
1983 pried open by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the
1984 tribal councils and a good deal of money was
1985 transferred to Indian Country. The shift in perception
1986 of Indians is all-important in this instance. Indians
1987 were fading from public view as 'domestic dependent'
1988 nations, but they were emerging as one of a number of
1989 deprived racial minorities who had at least a moral
1990 claim on American society. (Deloria 1985:251).

1991 Regardless of the reason, federal Indian policy was shifting once
1992 more to favor self-determination and to honor the federal tribal
1993 trust relationship.

1994 SELF-DETERMINATION

1995 The turbulent decades of the 1960s and 1970s proved to be

1996 among the most productive in bringing about change in federal
1997 Indian policy. The "Red Power" movement, represented by
1998 organizations such as the National Indian Youth Council, American
1999 Indian Leadership Conference, National Congress of American
2000 Indians, American Indian Movement, etc., became a force to be
2001 reckoned with during this era (Josephy 1971). Socially and
2002 philosophically, the time was right to attempt lasting reforms in
2003 Indian policy.

2004 Peaceful as well as militant Indian activism increased
2005 through the 1960s with well-publicized "fish-ins" (demonstrations
2006 staged to exercise the treaty-guaranteed fishing rights of
2007 various tribes) and protests. Eventually the more militant
2008 approach, led by the American Indian Movement (AIM), gained
2009 considerable media and public attention. AIM organized the 1971
2010 "Trail of Broken Treaties" caravan to Washington, D.C., and the
2011 occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973. Americans
2012 were generally sympathetic to the messages of the Red Power
2013 activists, which included demands on the federal government to
2014 honor treaty obligations, reform the Bureau of Indian Affairs,
2015 and to enhance tribal sovereignty.

2016 The climate was right to encourage the reforms the "Red
2017 Power" movement sought and they were further aided by the strong
2018 support of President Richard M. Nixon (Gross 1989). President
2019 Richard M. Nixon's Special Message of July 8, 1970 (Nixon 1970)
-2020 set the standard for the new federal/tribal relationship:

2021 The time has come to break decisively with the past and to
2022 create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian
2023 future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions.

2024 This new era was to be one of tribal self-determination.

2025 The list of important legislative and administrative
2026 decisions brought to fruition in the 1970s is impressive:
2027 return of the sacred Blue Lake to Taos Pueblo in 1970; Alaska
2028 Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971; Restoration of the
2029 Menominee Tribe in 1973; the Indian Self-Determination and
2030 Education Assistance Act of 1975; the Indian Health Care
2031 Improvement Act of 1976; the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978;
2032 and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978.

2033 The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act
2034 of 1975 (P.L.93-638) was a cornerstone in this new era. The Act
2035 was designed to enable tribes to carry out federal programs for
2036 their own benefit:

2037 To assure maximum Indian participation in the future,
2038 Congress directed the secretaries of the Departments of the
2039 Interior and Health, Education, and Welfare, upon the
2040 request of any Indian tribe, to enter into contracts to

2041 design, carry out, and evaluate programs and services
2042 previously provided by the federal government. (Danziger
2043 1994:223)

2044 Tribal governments and members were the direct beneficiaries of
2045 numerous "War on Poverty" programs during this period as well.
2046 Between 1968 and 1976, Congress increased the BIA budget from
2047 \$262 million to \$777 million (Danziger 1994:223). The federal
2048 government currently spends nearly \$3 billion annually on Indian
2049 programs (Danziger 1994).

2050 In the spirit of the Self-Determination Act, 370 agreements
2051 (i.e., so-called "638" contracts, after the number of the law)
2052 were signed by 1980, providing nearly \$200 million in services
2053 directly to tribal governments and members (Danziger 1994:224).
2054 By 1988, nearly one-third of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' \$1
2055 billion budget was contracted out to various tribes (Danziger
2056 1994:225). This trend will accelerate with the implementation of
2057 the Tribal Self-Governance provisions of Title IV of the Indian
2058 Self-Determination Act Amendments of 1994 (P.L. 103-413).

2059 After having built up tribal infrastructure and governments
2060 with federal dollars during the 1960s and 1970s, "Indian Country"
2061 was in for a rude awakening in the 1980s. Indian programs were
2062 the subject of considerable budget cuts during the early Reagan
2063 administration, resulting in severe unemployment and cessation of
2064 services (Wilkins and Ritter 1994). For this reason, President
2065 Reagan's Indian policy has been labelled, "termination by
2066 accountants" (Morris 1988).

2067 In the late 1980s and early 1990s, landmark Indian
2068 legislation was passed which further enhances Indian self-
2069 determination. After several years of disputes and court cases,
2070 Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 (25
2071 U.S.C. § 2701-2721). The act has cleared the way for Indian
2072 tribes to negotiate gaming compacts with the state(s) in which
2073 their reservation or trust lands are located. Under the Indian
2074 Gaming Regulatory Act, tribes are allowed to develop gaming
2075 activities on their lands if the activity is not prohibited by
2076 state or federal law (Wilkins and Ritter 1994). For many tribes,
2077 the casinos sanctioned under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act
2078 have provided considerable employment and economic development
2079 opportunities (Wilkins and Ritter 1994). The Yankton Sioux Tribe
2080 is one of the tribes fortunate to have secured a gaming compact
2081 (with the state of South Dakota) and now runs a profitable casino
2082 (Ft. Randall Casino) at Pickstown, South Dakota (see Chapter 7).
2083 The Ponca Tribe of Nebraska and the Santee Sioux Tribe of
2084 Nebraska have been unable to secure gaming compacts with the
2085 state of Nebraska and are currently precluded from the gaming
2086 revenues and opportunities enjoyed by many of their neighbors.

2087 The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

2088 of 1990 (P.L. 101-601) is also landmark legislation in terms of
2089 asserting Indian sovereignty. The Act is designed to provide a
2090 framework for the systematic repatriation of Native American
2091 ancestral remains and objects of cultural patrimony from
2092 federally-funded institutions back to lineal descendants and/or
2093 tribal representatives.

2094 CONCLUSIONS

2095 Today, "Indian Country" represents approximately four percent
2096 of land area of the continental United States (Sutton 1994). In
2097 roughly 200 years, the transfer of the vast majority of the
2098 tribal landbase into the United States' public domain and its
2099 subsequent disposition has been responsible for chronic poverty,
2100 dependency and the political subjugation of the "First
2101 Americans." The historical underdevelopment (Clow 1989) of
2102 "Indian Country" can be placed within the context of federal
2103 Indian policy which has consistently sought to dispossess the
2104 tribal landbase and/or control tribal natural resources (e.g.,
2105 water, coal, uranium, oil, timber) (Ritter 1994; Barsh 1988;
2106 Jorgenson 1978). The treaties of cession, destruction of the
2107 bison, the "Civilization Programs," removals, allotment in
2108 severalty, and tribal termination all demonstrate the federal
2109 government's intent to control the political economies of the
2110 "domestic dependent nations" (Ritter 1994).

2111 Within the legal framework of English common law and later,
2112 American law, the American Indian nations resident within the
2113 borders of the United States have been systematically
2114 dispossessed of nearly 2 billion acres of aboriginal territory
2115 (Sutton 1994). The vast majority of this land was transferred
2116 via Congressionally-ratified treaties, Executive Agreements, and
2117 alienation due to allotment and surplus land cessions.

2118 In this light, federal Indian policy and the evolving tenets
2119 of Indian law reflect political and economic hegemony, commonly
2120 characterized as "internal colonialism" (Jorgenson 1978):

2121 If we accept the idea that modern society expresses its
2122 rights in land through polity and, in turn, that polity
2123 governs law and justice, we find that the body of
2124 federal Indian law--which embraces the whole of Indian
2125 real property as well as tribal and personal property
2126 rights--may be characterized as a species of colonial
2127 law. (Sutton 1975:4)

2128 The control of the tribal landbase is fundamental to questions of
2129 sovereignty, self-determination, and economic development.

2130 The remaining tribal territory (some 55 million acres) known
2131 as "trust" land, is plagued with considerable bureaucratic
2132 oversight (from the BIA--the "trustee") regarding development,

2133 management (e.g., leasing), or alienation of Indian land.
2134 Therein lies the rhetoric versus the reality of self-
2135 determination for contemporary Indian nations. The Courts have
2136 consistently supported the "right" of Indian tribes to exercise
2137 self-determination, but without the resources to enforce those
2138 rights, self-determination rings hollow.

2139 Jurisdictional issues have been compounded by complex
2140 patterns of land tenure in "Indian Country" (Sutton 1991).
2141 "Indian Country" has been used as a toponym in legal discourse
2142 and historic reference for more than a century (Sutton 1991:3).
2143 The current legal definition of "Indian Country" reflects the
2144 complexity of land tenure inherent in this concept,

2145 (a) all land within the limits of any Indian
2146 reservation under the jurisdiction of the United States
2147 government, notwithstanding the issuance of any patent,
2148 and, including rights-of-way running through the
2149 reservation, (b) all dependent Indian communities
2150 within the borders of the United States whether within
2151 the original or subsequently acquired territory
2152 thereof, and whether within or without the limits of a
2153 state and (c) all Indian allotments, the Indian titles
2154 to which have not been extinguished, including rights-
2155 of-way running through the same (63 Stat. 94).

2156 Of particular importance is the inclusion of "all land within the
2157 limits of any Indian reservation," irrespective of ownership.
2158 Despite the erosion of the Indian-owned landbase since the
2159 passage of the Dawes Act of 1887, this phrase reinforces the
2160 perceived authority of individual tribal governments to exercise
2161 jurisdiction within the external boundaries of their
2162 reservations--despite land tenure patterns and state
2163 jurisdictional authorities. This right has been seriously
2164 challenged by the state of South Dakota, which has refused to
2165 recognize the Yankton reservation (see Chapter 7). The Santees
2166 have also had to battle the state of Nebraska over the regulation
2167 of hunting and fishing rights on their reservation.

2168 Complicating the matter further is the pattern of land
2169 tenure in Indian Country, i.e., "checkerboarding." On
2170 contemporary reservations (including the Yankton and Santee Sioux
2171 reservations) numerous categories of land tenure lie contiguous
2172 to one another within the external boundaries of federally-
2173 recognized reservations. For example, on a single reservation
2174 the following legal categories of land tenure are possible, 1)
2175 individually-owned Indian allotments (trust status), 2) tribally-
2176 owned land (trust status), 3) Indian-owned fee patent land (non-
2177 trust status), 4) non-Indian owned fee patent land, and 5) public
2178 domain.

2179 The recent Self-Determination legislation and administrative

2180 modifications have spawned an era of greater self-governance and
 2181 expression of sovereignty by tribal governments. Self-
 2182 determination, however, is a matter of degree (Nelson and Sheley
 2183 1985). Contemporary tribal governments are highly aware of the
 2184 history and consequences of federal Indian policy for their
 2185 people. They are ever vigilant and cognizant that the self-
 2186 determination rhetoric of one age may be quickly replaced by
 2187 policy reversals which attack the very core of tribalism. In the
 2188 current political climate, tribal governments will continue to
 2189 lobby for enhanced sovereignty and commitment by the federal
 2190 government to uphold and strengthen the trust obligations.

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- 2422 1994 *An Unspeakable Sadness: The Dispossession of the Nebraska*
2423 *Indians*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- 2424 Wunder, John R.
2425 1994 *"Retained by the People:" A History of American Indians*
2426 *and the Bill of Rights*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Table 29-1. The Northern Poncas, Santees, and Yanktons:
Population as of January 1, 1940.

TRIBE	TOTAL POP.	MALE/FEMALE	ON RES.	OFF RES.	OTHER
N. Ponca	384	184/200	151(39%)	198(52%)	35(9%)
Santee	1,197	625/572	554(46%)	434(36%)	209(20%)
Yankton	2,028	1019/1009	1,411(70%)	432(21%)	185(9%)

(Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Statistical Supplement, 1940, pp.10, 14)

Table 29-2. The Northern Poncas, Santees, and Yanktons: Lands under jurisdiction of the Office of Indian Affairs (1940).

TRIBE	TOTAL	TRUST/ ALLOTTED	TRIBAL	USED BY:	
				INDIANS	NON- INDIANS
N. Ponca	3,633	2,797	836	1,166	2,099
Santee	6,282	3,508	2,774	4,777	942
Yankton	42,086	40,256	1,830	12,674	22,407

(Source: Department of the Interior, Statistical Supplement, 1940, pp. 33, 36).

Table 29-3: The Northern Poncas, Santees, and Yanktons: IRA tribal status as of June 30, 1940.

TRIBE	POP.	CONSTITUTION APPROVED	CHARTER RATIFIED	LOANS	LANDS PURCH.
N. Ponca	384	4/3/36	8/15/36	\$12,500	691.11
Santee	1,197	4/3/36	8/22/36	\$35,000	2,544.37
Yankton	2,028	4/24/63	n/a	n/a	n/a

(Sources: Department of the Interior, Statistical Supplement, 1940, p.94; Amended Constitution and By-Laws of the Yankton Sioux Tribal Business and Claims Committee, 1963, p.109)

Table 29.4 Summary information on "Royce areas" in the NIMI region.

"Royce area" no.	Tribe	Land Cession (C) or Reservation (R) and Date	Instrument	Royce 1899 page ref.	Royce 1899 map ref.
315	Omaha	C & R; March 16, 1854	Treaty	790-791	41
408	Pawnee	C & R; Sept. 24, 1857	Treaty	818-819	41
409	Ponca	C & R; March 12, 1858	Treaty	818-819	11
410	Yankton Sioux	C; April 19, 1858	Treaty	820-821	11
411	Yankton Sioux	R; April 19, 1858	Treaty	820-821	11
471	Ponca	C; March 10, 1865	Treaty	836-837	11
472	Ponca	R; March 10, 1865	Treaty	836-837	11
None	Santee Sioux	R; Feb. 27, 1866	Executive Order	838-839	42
None	Santee Sioux	R; July 20, 1866	Executive Order	840-841	42
514	Santee Sioux	R; Nov. 16, 1867	Executive Order	846-847	42
526	Santee Sioux	R; August 31, 1869	Executive Order	852-853	42
556	Santee Sioux	R; Dec. 31, 1873	Executive Order	868-869	42
632	Sioux	R; Jan. 24, 1882	Executive Order	904-905	11

Source: Charles C. Royce (compiler), Indian Land Cessions in the United States, in Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology...1896-'97, Part 2, Washington, D.C., 1899. See particularly Map 42 in Royce 1899 for Santee reservation land actions.

Figure 29-1a. "Royce areas" in the NIMI region. Information about each "Royce area" is summarized in Table 29-4.

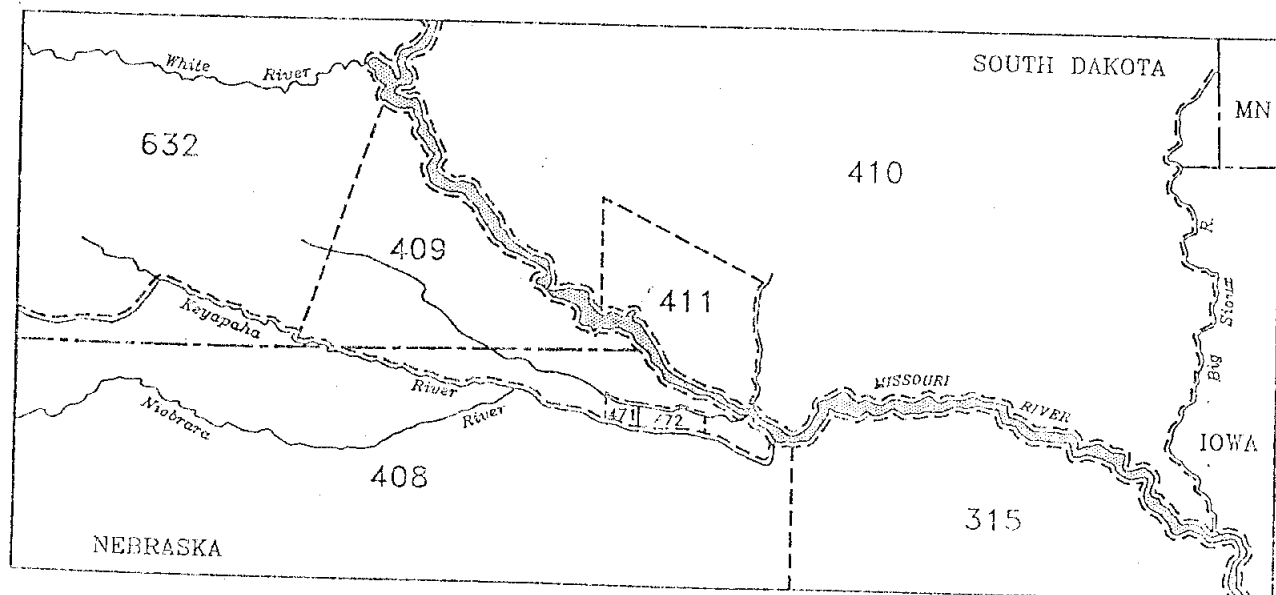
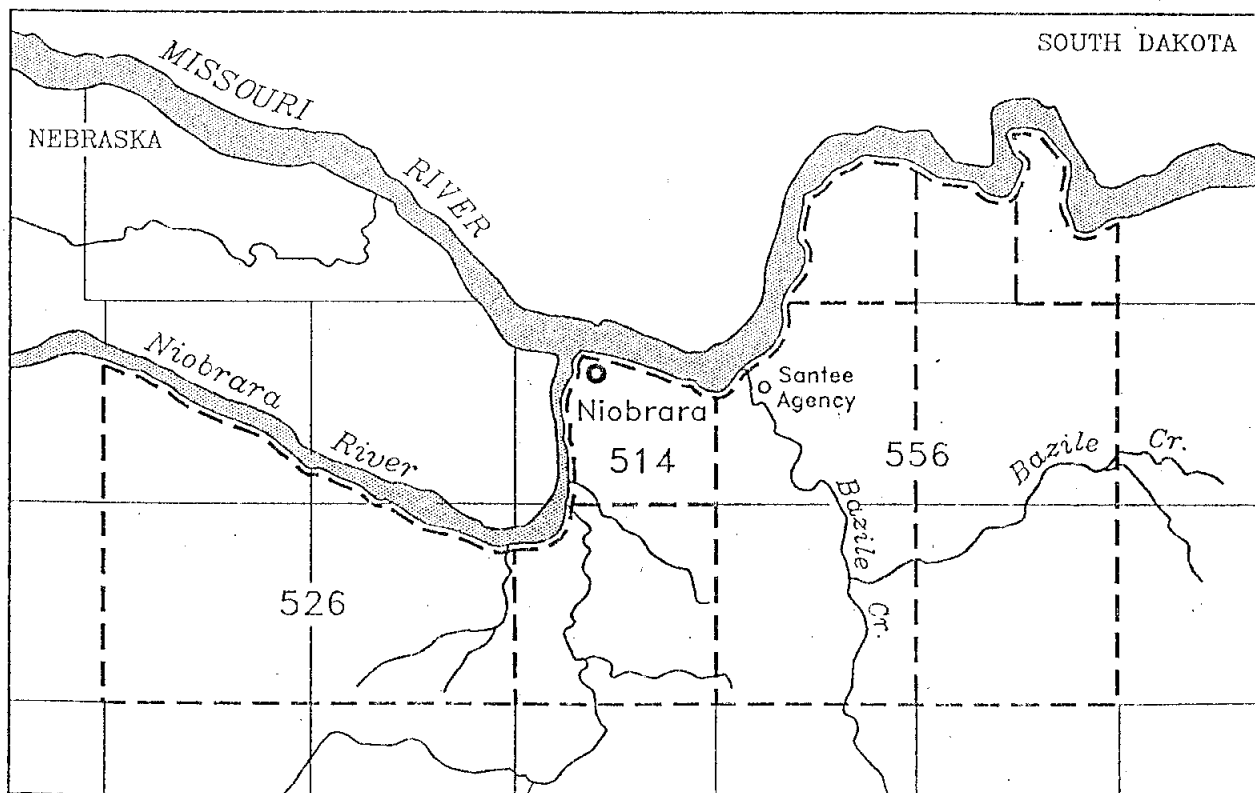


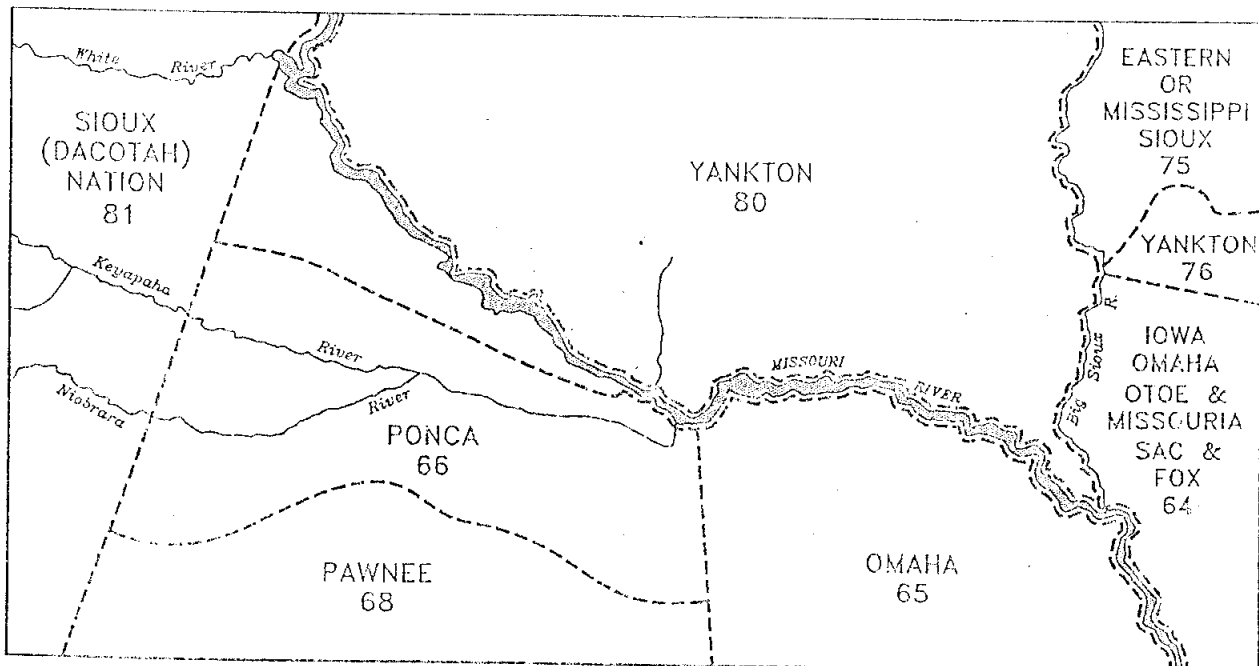
Figure 29-1b. "Royce areas" ^{relating to} ~~involved with~~ the establishment of the Santee reservation in Nebraska. Information about each "Royce area" is summarized in Table 29-4.



NIMIROYZ

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Figure 29-2. Aboriginal territories in the NIMI region, as established by judgments of the Indian Claims Commission. For the key to numbered tracts, see the final report of the Indian Claims Commission (United States Indian Claims Commission n.d.). The hachured area was not covered by any final judgment of the Commission.



~~11/21~~ NIMI TRIB
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[CONSULT3.CHP; revised 14 Jun 1995-brr; 28 Jun 1995--tdt]

CHAPTER 30

CONSULTATION WITH THE PONCA TRIBE OF NEBRASKA, SANTEE SIOUX TRIBE OF NEBRASKA, AND THE YANKTON SIOUX TRIBE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Beth R. Ritter

INTRODUCTION

Proactive National Park Service consultation with American Indian tribes potentially affected by National Park Service management, interpretation, or planning activities is mandated by numerous federal laws and directives (see Chapter 2), including a Presidential Memorandum signed on April 29, 1994 (published in the *Federal Register*, Vol. 59, No. 85 [May 4, 1994], pp. 22951-22952), and an earlier order of the Secretary of the Interior (No. 3175, November 8, 1993). These directives substantially strengthen the present Administration's commitment to enhance "government-to-government" relationships in dealing with federally-recognized tribes, and to respect the rights of sovereign tribal governments (see Chapter 29 for discussion of federal/tribal "trust" relationships). In planning the Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways (NIMI), these responsibilities have been interpreted as a mandate to "communicate" and "collaborate" with appropriate tribes throughout all phases of the planning process, which has been jointly undertaken by Park staff, Denver Service Center (DSC) personnel, and anthropologists compiling the Cultural Anthropological Overview and Assessment (CAOA). The discussion that follows will document consultation with the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska, Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska, and Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota that has occurred in the context of compiling the CAO document. Specifically, this discussion will identify tribal concerns learned through that process, and will offer recommendations for further communication by NIMI planners and personnel.

BACKGROUND

The focus of the CAO consultation efforts has been the three "resident" tribes of the NIMI region, which are considered to be most potentially affected by evolving NIMI planning efforts--the Northern Poncas, the Nebraska Santees, and the Yanktons. The Yankton Sioux, Santee Sioux, and Ponca Tribe of Nebraska have considerable political, geographical, jurisdictional, economic, and cultural stake in the NIMI planning process. All three tribes own "trust" land (protected and regulated by the Secretary of the Interior) in the study area and have appreciable cultural, spiritual, and historical ties to the

non-Indian owned landscapes as well. In addition, future recreational and economic development of this region could have profound impacts on local tribal economies. Also, an increased federal presence could potentially affect the exercise of tribal sovereignty and jurisdiction over current tribal properties (as well as those yet to be acquired) which are managed by these three Indian Nations.

Tribal consultations (as outlined in the CAO A scope of work) were conducted by the ethnographic team of the Midwest Archeological Center between August of 1993 and February of 1994 (see Table 30-1). Field contacts and consultations were initiated and conducted by Beth Ritter, Anthropologist. The following data and descriptions were compiled from field visits and dozens of hours of phone conversations and correspondence with various tribal representatives.

Initial contacts were made with tribal representatives sitting on the NIMI Planning and Advisory groups. To reflect the interests of the "resident" American Indian tribes, the National Park Service has included representatives from each of the three tribes as members of the formal NIMI Planning Team; in addition, the Secretary of the Interior appointed representatives from the Santee Sioux and Yankton Sioux tribes to sit on the NIMI Advisory Committee. Other NIMI Planning and Advisory Team members include local non-Indian landowners, representatives of state and local governments, technical experts from the states of Nebraska and South Dakota, and National Park Service personnel.

In August of 1993, a scope of work outlining the goals and methods of the CAO A study was submitted to the respective tribal councils of the Santee Sioux Tribe and Ponca Tribe of Nebraska for tribal council endorsement. Permission was subsequently granted by both tribal councils to carry out the proposed CAO A research among tribal members. Consultation with the Yankton Sioux tribe was delayed until early 1994, because recent elections had resulted in the ouster of seven of the nine Business and Claims Council members and the ethnographic team was advised to wait until the new council members had had time to become familiar with Tribal affairs.

PONCA TRIBE OF NEBRASKA

Background

The Ponca Tribe of Nebraska, headquartered in Niobrara, is a tribe whose status as an organized, federally-recognized tribe was recently restored by Congress. The Northern Poncas were terminated by an act of Congress (P.L. 76-429) in 1962. Although they were eventually successful in petitioning Congress to restore their federal recognition (effective October 31, 1990), the political and cultural existence of the Ponca Tribe of

91 Nebraska lapsed for nearly three decades. Since Tribal
92 restoration in 1990, the Poncas have been involved in
93 reconstructing Tribal government, formulating long-term economic
94 development plans, and seeking to regain Tribal culture and
95 language lost as a result of assimilation policies and Tribal
96 termination (see Chapters 7 and 29).

97 Currently, the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska has approximately
98 1,500 enrolled members. Tribal members are widely dispersed
99 geographically, for a number of reasons (see Chapter 7). A
100 socio-economic survey, initiated by ASW Associates to collect
101 baseline data to formulate the Congressionally-mandated Tribal
102 economic development plan, received 250 completed questionnaires
103 from Ponca respondents in 18 states. The 1989 socio-economic
104 survey, initiated by the Northern Ponca Restoration Committee
105 (NPRCI) to support the Tribal restoration effort, documented
106 Tribal members in 37 states (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992).
107 However, the majority of Northern Poncas are still clustered in
108 the three-state region of Nebraska, South Dakota, and Iowa
109 (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992).

110 As a restored Tribe, the Poncas are unique in many ways.
111 Unlike other tribes, who were not terminated/restored, the Poncas
112 are constrained by the language contained in Public Law 101-484,
113 which restored their federally-recognized status. Public Law
114 101-484 precludes the Poncas from ever establishing a residential
115 reservation; it delimits 1,500 acres as the amount of land
116 eligible to be taken into "trust" in Knox and Boyd counties,
117 Nebraska; it defines the service delivery areas eligible for
118 federal services (Knox, Boyd, Madison, Lancaster, and Douglas
119 counties in Nebraska and Charles Mix County in South Dakota); and
120 allows for the submission of a Tribal economic development plan
121 for Congressional funding (see Appendix I for additional
122 provisions of P.L. 101-484).

123 Although the Poncas did not expressly seek to establish a
124 residential reservation in their former homeland (they will
125 petition Congress to fund an economic development plan instead),
126 the Ponca Restoration Act (P.L. 101-484) precluded the Ponca
127 Tribe of Nebraska from ever re-establishing a residential
128 reservation. This constraint is contrary to the wishes of
129 Tribal members who, in a 1989 NPRCI socio-economic survey,
130 indicated that 90 percent of the surveyed households felt that a
131 reservation should be established; of those who supported
132 establishment of a reservation, 97 percent indicated that the
133 vicinity of Niobrara, Nebraska, was the appropriate place for the
134 reservation (Grobsmith and Ritter 1992:10). Interestingly, the
135 land that they are eligible to take into trust will have many of
136 the same protections and regulations as "reservation" trust land,
137 including the right of the Tribe to build Tribally-owned and
138 privately-owned housing units (including HUD housing) on the
139 trust property if they so choose. Currently, the Poncas have

140 purchased 160 acres of land in Knox County, Nebraska, near
141 Niobrara (see Map ___), and are considering several other
142 purchases, pending the availability of funding and approval by
143 the Secretary of Interior.

144 Tribal members who reside within the six service areas
145 (Knox, Boyd, Madison, Lancaster, and Douglas counties in Nebraska
146 and Charles Mix County in South Dakota) are eligible to receive
147 health care services (from the Indian Health Service), social
148 services, and housing assistance (from HUD), as well as
149 educational assistance and access to other federal and Tribal
150 programs. Tribal members who reside outside the service delivery
151 areas are currently ineligible for services. However, the Tribal
152 Council is currently negotiating to extend the service delivery
153 areas to counties adjacent to the current service areas, which
154 would extend coverage to an estimated additional 130 Tribal
155 members.

156 Because securing political support from the Nebraska
157 Congressional delegation for Tribal restoration was contingent
158 upon not re-establishing a reservation,, the NPRCI emphasized the
159 option of formulating an economic development plan in P.L. 101-
160 484. The goal of formulating a viable Tribal economic
161 development plan is to provide employment opportunities for
162 Tribal members as well as economic self-sufficiency for the tribe
163 as a whole. Additionally, it was felt that an economic
164 development plan would better serve the needs of a widely-
165 dispersed, urban-based Tribal membership (who would be unlikely
166 to return to a rural reservation). The interim Tribal Council
167 hired ASW Associates to compile this plan, which was submitted to
168 Washington in October, 1993, and was reviewed initially by the
169 Bureau of Indian Affairs before subsequent approval by Congress.
170 The new Tribal Council has been granted an extension of time in
171 which to modify and reformulate the original plan for
172 resubmission in the Fall of 1995.

173 Under the Tribal constitution (ratified in June of 1994) and
174 P.L. 101-484, the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska has no blood quantum
175 membership requirement (see Appendix I for the 1994 Tribal
176 constitution and P.L. 101-484). Individual tribes have the
177 sovereign right to determine their own membership criteria;
178 however, the Bureau of Indian Affairs frequently exercises
179 considerable "oversight" on these criteria. The Ponca Tribe of
180 Nebraska is one of the only tribes in the United States which has
181 successfully negotiated the right to drop blood quantum
182 requirements (Ritter 1994). In order to qualify for enrollment,
183 an individual must demonstrate that he or she was enrolled (or
184 entitled to be enrolled) on the 1965, 1936 or 1934 Northern Ponca
185 Tribal roll, or that he or she is a lineal descendant of a Tribal
186 member enrolled on these rolls. Many Tribal members were
187 inadvertently omitted from the final Tribal roll compiled in 1965
188 at the time of termination. Tribal enrollment has been growing

steadily as new members are born and eligible members activate their membership status. In addition, some eligible Tribal members who were enrolled in other tribes (e.g., the Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska), but met the membership criteria for Ponca enrollment, have opted to transfer their tribal enrollment to the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska (an individual may only be legally enrolled in one tribe, although conceivably they might simultaneously meet eligibility requirements for enrollment in two or possibly more tribes).

Government: Ponca Tribe of Nebraska

At the time of Tribal restoration (1990), responsibility for the administration of Tribal government was vested in the Northern Ponca Restoration Committee, Inc. (NPRCI) board of directors. The NPRCI was a grass roots, non-profit organization (chartered in the state of Nebraska) responsible for organizing the successful Tribal restoration bid (see Chapter 7). Many of the current Tribal Council members were actively involved with Tribal restoration efforts through the NPRCI, particularly Fred LeRoy, Tribal Chair, and Council members Gloria Chytka and Mario Peniska. Under P.L. 101-484, the interim Tribal Council was responsible for conducting all of the administrative affairs of the Tribe until the first Tribal election. The interim Tribal Council was composed of the board of directors of the NPRCI (whose composition changed frequently). The CAO consultation was concluded before the first Tribal election in October of 1994; thus this consultation was effected with the interim Tribal Council of 1993/1994. It is highly advisable to initiate and/or continue consultation with the first duly-elected Tribal Council. The first (current) elected Tribal Council is not bound by any contractual or verbal agreements negotiated by the interim Tribal Council. Tribal councils have "sovereign immunity," in the same sense as federal or state governments.

The first (and current) Tribal Council of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska was inaugurated on October 31, 1994; four years to the day after their Tribal restoration. The 1994 Tribal constitution provides for a representative electoral system which divides the electorate into four districts (based on county and/or state of residence). Each of the four districts elects two representatives to serve four-year terms. In the first election, each District elected one representative for four years and another for two years, to establish a "staggered" term process. The Tribal Chairman is elected at large to a four-year term. Under the constitution, officers of the Tribal Council are elected bi-annually by the Council members. The Tribal Chair is a non-voting member, except in the event of a tie vote. The next Tribal election will be held in October of 1996; one seat from each District (four seats of a total of eight) will be open at this time. The Tribal Chair and the remaining four seats of the Council will be open in the 1998 election. All enrolled Tribal

members, 18 years of age and over, are eligible to register and vote in Tribal elections.

The Ponca Tribe of Nebraska has established three field offices in Nebraska, at Norfolk, Omaha, and Lincoln, to provide services and assistance to Tribal members. Contact with the Tribal Chair and Council should be initiated through the headquarters in Niobrara. The executive secretary for the Chair and Tribal Council is located in Niobrara. The Tribal Business Manager is also located in the Niobrara headquarters. Various Tribal department heads are scattered between sites, as need and personnel dictate; e.g., the Economic Development Director is located in Lincoln.

Consultation: Ponca Tribe of Nebraska

Consulting with the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska is important to the successful future of the NIMI planning process for many reasons. Firstly, the Poncas are long-term residents of the entire study area (see Chapters 3 and 7 and Map __ [of Ponca aboriginal territory]). The "cultural landscape" of the modern Ponca Tribe of Nebraska is, thus, inextricably bound up in a Tribal identity rooted in religion, folklore, place names, ancestral graves, and an often painful past. Despite brutal federal policies designed to separate the Poncas from their ancestral home and strip them of their traditional culture (see Chapters 7 and 29), the Poncas have persisted and have returned time and again to their ancestral homeland. This pattern will undoubtedly persist and intensify in the future. Potential recreational development and interpretation should be carefully planned and coordinated with sensitivity to the history and future revitalization of the Poncas' culture and traditions. There is a high probability that culturally significant sites may be identified and re-acquired, and potentially nominated for National Register status. Many of these sites (some are yet to be identified) will no doubt lie contiguous to the Niobrara and Missouri Rivers, within the Recreational River designation; e.g., the Poncas have actively discussed the possibility of re-acquiring the Ponca Fort site.

Secondly, as the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska evolves and develops politically and economically in the NIMI study area, the necessity of dealing with the Tribal government in a "government to government" capacity will increase. Within the next several years, the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska will acquire at least 1,500 acres of trust land in Knox and Boyd counties, Nebraska. In addition, the Tribe may be allowed to acquire additional properties in the service delivery areas for economic development purposes. Under the currently proposed Tribal economic development plan, both the Tribe and individual Tribal members may put forth economic development plans which may eventually include industrial, agricultural, recreational, or "ethnographic

286 tourism" components in the NIMI study area. Potentially, for
287 NIMI planning and management purposes, the Ponca Tribal presence
288 could be highly significant politically, economically, and
289 jurisdictionally.

290 Thirdly, the opportunity exists to forge mutually-beneficial
291 recreational/interpretive opportunities for the Tribe and the
292 National Park Service. This ideal can only be accomplished
293 through a strong commitment to the on-going consultation process
294 and the provision of technical and financial assistance on the
295 part of the National Park Service and other federal agencies,
296 where feasible. This kind of cooperative arrangement would
297 fulfill the "trust" mandate envisioned by the Department of the
298 Interior as well as perpetuate good will in future federal/Tribal
299 interactions.

300 At the time of consultation, the interim Tribal Council
301 expressed the opinion, with a formal resolution, that they did
302 not wish to have any Ponca-affiliated cultural sites included
303 within Park boundaries. Currently, the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska
304 has very limited property ownership (160 acres) in the study
305 area, consequently, most traditional sites associated with the
306 Poncas are currently on privately-owned or public land. The
307 interim Tribal Council expressed some interest in entering into
308 "cooperative" agreements with the National Park Service to
309 develop and/or manage various sites which might lie adjacent to
310 or within currently proposed NIMI boundary alternatives. With
311 the recent establishment of the first elected Tribal Council, it
312 is highly advisable to discuss the NIMI boundary alternative
313 studies and planning processes with the entire Tribal Council and
314 Tribal Chair.

315 There are numerous documented Ponca cultural sites within
316 the NIMI study area; including protohistoric and historic
317 earthlodge villages, camp sites, Ponca agency locations, lairs of
318 mythological beings, natural resource acquisition sites,
319 ancestral cemeteries, and others (see Chapter 28). One
320 potentially problematic issue (from the perspectives of the
321 Tribal Council, Tribal elders, and some family members) has been
322 the effort to identify Chief Standing Bear's unmarked gravesite.
323 An initial meeting between NPS officials and family members and
324 others of the Northern Ponca community was held at _____ on
325 _____, 199_; proposed plans and methods to locate the gravesite
326 were explained at that meeting. Initially, Standing Bear's
327 descendants and the interim Tribal Council expressed interest in
328 locating the gravesite, in order to erect a suitable monument or
329 historical marker to honor Standing Bear. A Midwest
330 Archeological Center archeologist, Bob Nickel, subsequently
331 performed a non-intrusive, preliminary proton magnetometer survey
332 of a small area suspected to be the gravesite on Standing Bear's
333 former allotment lands. The results were inconclusive. NIMI
334 staff continued the effort by engaging the efforts of Glen

Bowker, a local journalist and amateur historian, to scour archival documents for clues about the location of the burial. To date, these efforts have also proven largely inconclusive. In the meantime, the sentiments of some family members (as well as the opinions of many prominent elders) have shifted somewhat about the wisdom of continuing to seek the precise location of Standing Bear's grave. Future efforts to locate the gravesite must be closely and explicitly coordinated with the family of Standing Bear and the Tribal Council, and should not be pursued if either the family or the Council does not concur with the objectives or the methods of the search. The Ponca Tribe of Nebraska has a Repatriation Coordinator, a Cultural Committee, and a Cemetery Committee, all of which could also be helpful regarding Ponca burial practices and traditional values regarding burials. In addition, it would be wise to seek a solicitor's opinion regarding the application of Nebraska statute L.B. 340, which protects unmarked burials, before proceeding with further search efforts.

Despite the fact that the Ponca tribe of Nebraska does not and will never have a residential reservation in Knox County, Nebraska, the Poncas believe they have retained hunting and fishing rights under the Ponca treaties of 1858 and 1865 (personal communication from Mr. Fred LeRoy, Tribal Chairman, June 22, 1995). As a terminated (and subsequently restored) Tribe, the Poncas never relinquished these rights. Termination severed the federal obligation to the Tribe, but it did not abrogate the Ponca treaties (see P.L. 101-484 and 1994 Tribal constitution in Appendix I). While the Poncas have no current plans to regulate hunting and fishing within the external boundaries of their former 96,000-acre reservation (see Map ____), that right could be asserted at any time in the future. If these rights are valid and are exercised by the Tribe, hunting and fishing within the external boundaries of the former reservation would be regulated by the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska, not the State of Nebraska, for Ponca and non-Ponca sportsmen alike. The authority would be the same as that which the Santee Sioux and Yankton Sioux tribes exercise within the external boundaries of their respective reservations.

By the same token, the Poncas contend they have also retained their residual water rights on the Niobrara and Missouri rivers under the Ponca treaties of 1858 and 1865 (see Appendix II). These residual water rights are particularly significant for NIMI planning purposes because the former 96,000-acre reservation was situated squarely within the core of the 39-mile NIMI recreational river designation, between the Missouri and Niobrara rivers.

Future Consultation: Ponca Tribe of Nebraska

Future consultation with the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska should

383 be attentively pursued. In the spirit of Government-to-
384 Government consultation it is appropriate to contact the Tribal
385 Council to request a formal meeting. As Tribal Chair, Mr. Fred
386 LeRoy, is the appropriate Tribal spokesperson with whom to
387 coordinate. The (current) Ponca representative on the NIMI
388 Planning team is Tribal Council member, Gloria Chytka. In her
389 capacity as a NIMI Planner, she is an appropriate liaison with
390 the Tribal Council as well. However, it is desirable to continue
391 meeting periodically with the entire Tribal Council to be
392 available for questions and concerns which might arise. It is
393 also highly advisable to secure the Secretary of the Interior's
394 approval for a Ponca representative to sit on the NIMI Advisory
395 Committee.

396 Finally, in light of the possibility that the Ponca tribe of
397 Nebraska will choose at some time in the future to assert their
398 treaty rights with regard to hunting, fishing, and water rights
399 in the heart of the recreational river designation, it will be
400 essential to consult with the Ponca tribal government about the
401 timetable in which they may exercise these rights within the
402 former Ponca reservation lands.

403 SANTEE SIOUX TRIBE OF NEBRASKA

404 *Background*

405 The Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska is a federally-recognized
406 tribe headquartered in Santee, Nebraska. The Santees were
407 relocated from their Minnesota reservation to Crow Creek, South
408 Dakota, and eventually to a reservation in Knox County, Nebraska;
409 the latter was established by four consecutive Executive Orders
410 between 1866 and 1869 (see Chapters 6 and 7 and Appendix I).
411 While the NIMI study area is generally not considered to lie
412 within the recognized Santee aboriginal homeland, the Santees are
413 documented as having ranged into this region before their
414 relocation to the Nebraska reservation (see Chapters 6 and 28).

415 Since their relocation to Nebraska in 1866, the reservation
416 boundaries have been adjusted three times by Executive Order,
417 resulting in today's 115,000-acre reservation. Roughly 20,000
418 acres is "trust" land, either Tribally-owned or in individual
419 allotments (Meyer 1993). Currently the Tribal roll includes
420 approximately 2,260 persons (Meyer 1993), of which nearly 760 are
421 resident on the Santee reservation. Many Santees are anxious to
422 return to the reservation; however, lack of housing and economic
423 opportunities force many to continue to live away from their
424 homeland and kin.

425 *Employment, Education, and the Reservation Economy*

426 Employment opportunities for Santees living on the
427 reservation are limited. The 1990 U.S. Census indicates that

American Indian males (age 16 and older) on the Santee reservation have an unemployment rate of 49 percent; American Indian females have a 24 percent unemployment rate. The overall rate of unemployment on the reservation (American Indian and non-Indian, both sexes) is 22.9 percent. Knox County, Nebraska, has a rural, agriculturally-based economy. Consequently, given the degree of dispossession (nearly 95,000 acres are in non-Indian ownership) on the reservation, relatively few Santees are able to make a living in the agricultural sector. The Tribe does operate a cattle ranch which runs about 600 head and employs five people. Recently, the Tribe has been pursuing the possibility of developing a commercial bison operation which would also provide additional employment and Tribal income, as well as meat and other bison products for the local Tribal community.

The Tribal housing authority is one of the major employers on the reservation, employing 37 people. In 1993, the Santee Tribal housing authority, one of the top five in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Aberdeen area, was responsible for the construction of fourteen new housing units (through HUD) and was also involved in the construction of the new health clinic. The health clinic is viewed as both an essential service and a potential economic development tool. A \$400,000 FMHA loan was obtained from First Dakota Bank, Yankton, South Dakota, to build the facility. The clinic employs a physician and dentist as well as other health professionals. The clinic contracts with the Indian Health Service (IHS) to provide health care services for enrolled members of federally-recognized tribes (see discussion of the Self-Determination Act in Federal Indian Policy in Chapter 29). Eventually, the clinic plans to accept non-enrolled patients (who are presently ineligible for IHS services) on a fee-basis. Given the general lack of access to health care in this rural area, hopes are high for the success of this venture. The clinic is constructed on the former site of the Santee Normal Training School in Santee, Nebraska.

The Becton-Dickinson company operates a pharmaceutical supply manufacturing facility on the reservation which employs approximately 16 people (Meyer 1993). Additional employment opportunities are provided by various Tribal administrative and educational jobs. The Santee reservation has a HeadStart program and also has a campus of the Nebraska Indian Community College.

In the course of consultation, the Tribal leadership voiced concerns about economic opportunities, employment, and education. The 1990 U.S. Census data reveal that a significant proportion (37.3 percent) of reservation residents fall below the poverty line. Particularly striking is the profile of female-headed households with children under the age of five, for which fully 100 percent lie below the poverty line. Also according to the 1990 U.S. Census, nearly 45 percent of all adults lack a high school diploma or equivalency (GED).

477 The Santee Sioux are attempting to negotiate a gaming
478 compact with Governor Nelson of Nebraska. If successfully
479 negotiated, the Santees would build a casino on the eastern edge
480 of their reservation. Gaming is an attractive economic
481 development option for many federally-recognized tribes like the
482 Santees, who lack natural resources, an adequate landbase, and
483 the capital to pursue other economic development options (see
484 discussion of Indian Gaming in Chapter 29). Employment
485 opportunities afforded by the casino would allow many enrolled
486 Santees to return home and would also benefit the local Indian
487 and non-Indian economy. However, at this point in time, there is
488 no indication that the State of Nebraska will approve a Class III
489 casino gaming compact anytime in the near future with any of the
490 Nebraska Indian Tribes.

491 The Tribal Council is actively pursuing economic development
492 strategies to improve the overall security and autonomy of the
493 Santee Sioux. However, economic issues are not the only focus of
494 the Santees. Prominent leaders and elders are committed to
495 strengthening and revitalizing the community through a return to
496 spiritualism. Because of the history of the Santee relocation
497 (see Chapter 7), various Indian agents and missionaries assigned
498 to the reservation effectively repressed traditional religious
499 expression for nearly 100 years. Beginning in the 1970s, a small
500 number of Santees began building sweatlodges and relearning their
501 traditional religious ceremonies. Many credit the activism of
502 the American Indian Movement (AIM) for encouraging this spiritual
503 and cultural revitalization on the Santee reservation. Over the
504 past 20 years, this spiritual renewal has grown steadily and
505 become an important focus for many of the younger Santees (many
506 elders continue to favor the practice of Christianity). The
507 first Sun Dance was held on the Santee reservation nearly eight
508 years ago; there are now three annual Sun Dances conducted on the
509 reservation. In addition, Dakota language and culture classes
510 are now offered through the school system at Santee, particularly
511 through the Santee campus of the Nebraska Indian Community
512 College. Many Santees expressed pride and optimism about the
513 future because of these opportunities for the youth to experience
514 their traditional culture.

515 *Government: Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska*

516 The Santees have an IRA-chartered constitution (approved in
517 1936--see Appendix I) which provides for the election of a 12-
518 member Tribal Council. The Tribal Council is comprised of three
519 members from each of the four districts of the reservation
520 (Santee, Hobu Creek, Howe Creek, and Bazile Creek); the Council
521 members are elected for three-year terms, on a staggered basis.
522 There is an annual election on the last Tuesday of September,
523 with a potential turnover of no more than four Tribal Council
524 seats per year (e.g., in 1994, only two Council seats of four
525 were "turned over"). The Tribal Council Chair is elected by

secret ballot in an annual vote by the seated Council, after the general election. The Tribal Chair is a non-voting member of the Council, leaving an 11-member voting Council (the Chair may vote in the event of a tie). The current Tribal Chair is Richard (Rick) Kitto, who has considerable experience in Santee Tribal government. Community support and sentiment is apparently positive regarding the Tribal Council. Recently, there has been some consideration of rewriting the Tribal constitution to better reflect the needs of the contemporary community. For example, the four districts are severely malapportioned because the Santee district has by far the largest numerical population but is allowed only three Council seats under the current constitution.

Bureau of Indian Affairs oversight for the Santee Sioux Tribe emanates from the Winnebago Agency on the Winnebago reservation in northeastern Nebraska. The Omahas and Winnebagos are also administered through the Winnebago Agency, which also has an Indian Health Service Hospital.

Consultation: Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska

Initial consultation with the Santees was coordinated through Butch Denny, Tribal Council member and designated Tribal representative for the NIMI Advisory Board. Mr. Denny and Mike Crosely, Tribal representative on the NIMI Planning Team, met with Beth Ritter and Roberta D'Amico (NIMI park office) and agreed to take our scope of work to the Tribal Council for approval. Approval was granted in August of 1993.

During the course of the on-going consultation, formal and informal interviews were conducted with six of the Tribal Council members, including Rick Kitto, Chair. In these meetings, it became apparent that the Santee leadership was strongly opposed to any increased federal presence on reservation land that could affect Santee resources (water, wildlife, wildlife habitat, land, cultural, etc.). Questions of jurisdiction were of the greatest concern, the perception being that any increased federal presence would undermine Tribal jurisdiction, and would be "unacceptable" to the Tribe. An additional concern voiced was that there was no consultation with the tribe before the Recreational River designation was made in 1991.

The National Recreational River area study includes Santee reservation lands contiguous and/or adjacent to the Missouri and Niobrara rivers. A considerable number of cultural and sacred sites as well as residential and economic facilities lie within a quarter-mile of the Missouri River on the Santee reservation. The general consensus was that the Santees wanted to be "left alone" to pursue their own recreational and/or economic development plans. It was suggested that if they were not allowed to be "left alone," they would pursue other avenues (legal and political) to maintain their sovereign integrity.

1 [Last revised: 6 July 1995]

2 CHAPTER 31

3 OVERVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4 Robert K. Hitchcock

5 INTRODUCTION

6 This report has demonstrated that the NIMI area is
7 culturally rich and historically diverse. The archeological,
8 ethnohistoric, historic, and ethnographic evidence underscores
9 the fact that the NIMI area was used extensively over a
10 substantial period by a variety of groups, including American
11 Indians, Europeans, and African Americans (Ludwickson et al.
12 1981; Blakeslee and O'Shea 1983; Hartley 1983; Smith 1983;
13 Franklin et al. 1994; Vawser and Osborn n.d.). The three Native
14 American tribes with the greatest stake in the evolving NIMI
15 planning process, the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska, the Santee Sioux,
16 also of Nebraska, and the Yankton Sioux of South Dakota, were
17 consulted in order to gain insights into their experiences and
18 perspectives and to obtain their views on the NIMI area and its
19 future (see Chapter 30). Decisions about land tenure status in
20 the region will have significant effects on these three tribes
21 and their non-American Indian neighbors. Most of the discussion
22 that follows is directed to concerns that Native Americans may
23 have about the planning and development of NIMI.

24 In addition to implications for the economies of people
25 living in the NIMI region, an expanded federal presence could
26 also affect land use, recreation, jurisdiction over property in
27 both American Indian and non-Indian hands, and the exercise of
28 tribal sovereignty. It is for these reasons that decisions about
29 the future of the region should be carefully considered and
30 should be based on consultation with and participation of all
31 interested parties as well as scientific experts and government
32 and non-government agencies and individuals.

33 Some of the information upon which this overview and set of
34 recommendations is based was obtained from representatives of the
35 NIMI planning and advisory bodies, the National Park Service, the
36 Nebraska Game and Parks Commission, and the Nebraska Department
37 of Economic Development. It was also obtained from various
38 stakeholders in the NIMI area, including private land owners,
39 local business owners, and the Nature Conservancy, as well as
40 from the three "resident" tribes in the area (the Poncas,
41 Santees, and Yanktons; see Chapter 30 for information about
42 consultation with Native Americans).

43 The conclusions presented herein are based on information

44 contained in the various chapters in this volume, combined with
45 information from government and non-government agencies working
46 in and around the NIMI area. Some data were drawn from county
47 commissions and the various Natural Resource Districts (NRDs) in
48 and adjacent to the NIMI area, as well as state and local
49 governments and technical experts from the states of Nebraska and
50 South Dakota, and personnel of the Nebraska State Historical
51 Society, the University of Nebraska, and the Nebraska State
52 Museum.

53 This chapter is broken down into several parts. First, a
54 background on general issues relating to conservation and
55 development as a means of enhancing natural and cultural
56 resources is provided. Then there is a discussion of the impacts
57 of the various actions that have taken place already in the NIMI
58 area, with comparative information on similar situations
59 elsewhere in the world. After that there is a discussion of
60 specific areas of concern for the NIMI area populations,
61 including land use and land tenure; water rights; consultation
62 and participation; community-based and regional natural resource
63 management; economic development; tourism and recreation; sites
64 of archeological, historical, and religious significance; human
65 resource development; and public information and interpretation.
66 The chapter concludes with a set of specific recommendations for
67 action and suggestions on topics that require further study.

68 BACKGROUND

69 Over the past two decades there have been significant changes
70 in public attitudes towards conservation and land management. The
71 establishment of national parks and reserved areas was seen for a
72 century as a primary means by which habitats and resources, both
73 biological and cultural, could be preserved (Fitzsimmons 1976;
74 McNeely and Miller 1984; Machliss [spelling?--see RC] and Tichnell
75 1985; Anderson and Grove 1987; Ledec and Goodland 1988; Kiss 1990).
76 Calls have been heard from local people for the implementation of
77 conservation efforts aimed at enhancing their livelihoods without
78 reducing their access to the land and natural resources necessary
79 for their survival. Striking a balance between conservation and
80 development is the key to ensuring the long-term survival of both
81 people and wild species (Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1992; Wells and
82 Brandon 1992; West and Brechin 1991; Kemf 1993; World Wildlife Fund
83 1993; Munasinghe and McNeely 1995).

84 In some parts of North America, including the Great Plains and
85 the NIMI area specifically, biodiversity is on the decline as
86 habitats are altered by a combination of human and environmental
87 factors. A major worry of biologists is that the ability of
88 ecosystems to carry out vital functions such as maintenance of soil
89 fertility, water retention, and cycling of nutrients will be
90 reduced by the loss of biodiversity (Wilson 1988 [---NTRC or Wilson
91 and Peter 1988?]; World Resources Institute 1990 [---NTRC or WRI et

al. 1992?]; Groombridge 1992 [---NIRC]; National Research Council 1992).

There are several reasons for this situation. First, the expanding number of people using and visiting many of these areas is putting pressure on resources. Second, the diversification of local economies is leading to greater impacts on the environment. Third, outside agencies, including government organizations and private companies, have increased their efforts to exploit both biological and cultural resources. Fourth, scientific discoveries, some of them drawn from indigenous knowledge, have resulted in expansion of the uses to which resources are put (Wilson 1985, 1988 [---NIRC?]; World Conservation Monitoring Center 1992; World Resources Institute et al. 1992).

In response to rising concerns about biodiversity losses, government agencies, American Indian tribes, natural resource districts, non-government organizations (NGOs) such as the Nature Conservancy and the National Audubon Society, scientists, and local communities have attempted to re-think some of the approaches in order to come up with strategies that are sustainable over the long-term. Many efforts are being made to frame policies and put into place a variety of projects aimed at integrating conservation and development. The basic assumption behind these projects is that people will attempt to conserve resources when they can see the economic and social utility of doing so. In other words, if people are able to derive both direct and indirect benefits from the consumptive and non-consumptive use of resources, they are more likely to engage in efforts to enhance the well-being of those resources (McNeely et al. 1990; Associates in Rural Development 1992; World Wildlife Fund 1993).

In the past, a major problem with biodiversity conservation programs was that they tended to dispossess people or to prevent them from pursuing resource procurement activities. As one Lakota man put it, "The federal government first took away our right to hunt and then they removed us from our traditional territories." The passing of legislation to control hunting, the resettlement of American Indian peoples in places away from their ancestral lands, and the overexploitation of important resources such as the buffalo served to exacerbate problems of poverty and resource stress among local communities.

One approach included killing of game as a way of "taming" American Indians and getting them to resettle on reservations. The destruction of the buffalo meant not only the loss of a primary source of food and other basic requirements (e.g., clothing, shelter), but also the loss of culture. Buffalo were a crucial part of the economies and belief systems of Plains Indians (McHugh 1972; Foster et al. 1992; Hodgson 1994). The Lakota, who ranged into the NIMI area in the past, were known as the Pte Oyate, the Buffalo Nation. From the viewpoint of the Lakota and other Great

140 Plains indigenous peoples, the killing of the buffalo was part of
141 a general process of ethnocide, the deliberate and systematic
142 destruction of their cultures.

143 The history of the NIMI area reveals that the development and
144 conservation actions taken in the past had significant impacts on
145 the resident populations and on groups and individuals that used
146 the area. This was particularly true of federal Indian policy
147 (Ortiz 1984; Deloria 1985; Deloria and Lytle 1983, 1985 [or
148 1984?]; Prucha 1990; Wunder 1994) (see Chapter 29). It was also
149 true of federal land policy, which, from the standpoint of
150 indigenous peoples, was tantamount to dispossession (McDonnell
151 1991; Jaimes 1992; Wishart 1994). Water development projects also
152 had major impacts on northern Plains peoples, some of whom lost not
153 only land but also livelihoods and social well-being (Lawson 1982)
154 (see Table 31-1).

155 Local communities, organizations, and tribal governments in
156 the NIMI area are involved in planning natural resource management,
157 economic development, and educational activities. These activities
158 have had a variety of impacts on the livelihoods and resource use
159 patterns of local people. A number of organizations are involved
160 in programs that are aimed at promoting sustainable resource
161 management and development that are relevant to the NIMI area.
162 These include the Center for Rural Affairs, the Land Institute, the
163 Land Stewardship Project, and the Center for Holistic Resource
164 Management. Others are concentrating their efforts on specific
165 activities, such as promoting wildlife breeding, as is being done
166 by the Inter-Tribal Bison Cooperative (ITBC), or managing water
167 resources, such as Mni Sose, the Missouri River Basin water rights
168 coalition (Table 31-2 contains a list of these and other
169 organizations that are doing work that is relevant to the NIMI
170 area). This chapter addresses many of the concerns of local
171 communities and attempts to provide some suggestions for ways in
172 which these concerns might be dealt with.

173 LAND USE AND LAND TENURE

174 A primary concern of American Indian communities in the
175 northern Great Plains is land. Traditionally, Plains Indian
176 societies managed their land on a communal basis. Under these
177 systems of tenure, land could not be bought or sold, nor could it
178 be pledged as collateral for a loan. Under common property
179 management regimes, individuals have rights to land and property
180 insofar as they are members of a specific social group. Land is
181 held in the name of the group, and every individual in the various
182 Native American societies theoretically had the right to sufficient
183 land to support himself or herself. Land was held in common by the
184 community and individual households were allotted portions of that
185 land for their use. In some cases, people had to demonstrate
186 continued usage of that land in order to maintain their rights of
187 access to it.

188 Property in the form of land in native North America consisted
189 of what one might describe as a bundle of rights. In many cases,
190 the same piece of land can have a variety of claims on it for
191 various purposes. It is not unusual, therefore, to have complex
192 systems of land and resource rights which are spread widely
193 throughout local communities. Overlapping rights and obligations
194 are by no means uncommon in American Indian systems of land tenure.
195 Landlessness was not a major problem in most Native American
196 communities, in part because of the distribution mechanisms that
197 existed.

198 Land is part and parcel of American Indian sociopolitical
199 systems. It is often perceived as a territorial dimension of
200 Native American society, and segments of Native American societies
201 were associated with discrete territories. Local entities had
202 rights over blocks of land (e.g., a band in the case of a foraging
203 society, a clan or other kind of descent group in the case of a
204 pastoral or agricultural society). Rights to territories were
205 handed down from one generation to the next, and people generally
206 were aware of who had what rights to specific areas.

207 Two of the primary factors in land-related matters among
208 Native American communities are kinship and social alliances.
209 People are allocated land rights on the basis of group membership
210 or, in some cases, through provision by a tribal authority (e.g.,
211 a chief, a clan elder). Methods of obtaining rights to land
212 include a) inheritance (birth rights); b) marital ties; c)
213 borrowing; and d) colonization, the movement into an unutilized
214 area and the establishment of occupancy. Land and resource rights
215 can also be attained through the investment of labor (e.g., in
216 clearing of a field, construction of a fence, digging of a well,
217 planting of a tree). There were also cases in the past where
218 territorial acquisition occurred through conquest.

219 Land is allocated to Native American people for a number of
220 purposes: a) residence; b) arable agriculture; c) hunting; d)
221 collection of fuel wood, building materials, wild foods, medicinal
222 plants, and specialized resources (e.g., clay for pots); and e)
223 grazing. After changes occurred in the land tenure system, Native
224 American land was also allocated for purposes of establishing
225 social services (e.g., schools) and for private businesses.

226 American Indian peoples on the northern Plains in the past had
227 *de facto* (customary) but not *de jure* (legal) rights to land until
228 changes occurred in land tenure resulting from federal government
229 efforts to establish reservations, make treaties with American
230 Indian tribes, facilitate homesteading by white settlers, and pass
231 the General Allotment (Dawes) Act (McDonnell 1991; Wishart 1994;
232 Carlson 1994). Traditionally, a land market did not exist in
233 Native North America. Plains Indian tribes did not recognize the
234 right of individuals to barter or sell land, although there were
235 situations in which land was transferred from one person to another

(Sutton 1985 [---NIRC]; Olson 1990). There were also instances where people exchanged land for cash or some other good prior to allotment, though this was usually frowned upon by other group members.

A key approach to agricultural and economic development in the United States was the privatization of land, a process which, it was argued, would provide individuals with the incentive to invest more labor and capital and at the same time encourage people to exercise good stewardship and conserve resources. Individual (private) systems of tenure were established, in part to provide legal claims to land and to simplify the systems of land holding. It was also believed that the allotment system would "break the hold of the chiefs over individual Indians" (Carlson 1994:27). Native Americans generally opposed these attempts at land reform because they were all too aware of the likelihood of their losing control of their land and that many people would be forced off the land completely.

This report and the work of both American Indian and non-Indian scholars has outlined the changes which federal Indian policy and land reform brought about on the northern Plains (Ortiz 1984; Deloria 1985; Sutton 1985 [---NIRC]; McDonnell 1991; Wishart 1991, 1994; Carlson 1994; see Chapter 29 of this volume). In general, the United States acquired some two billion acres of Indian land, primarily through treaties of land cession or, in some cases, by use of force. Compensation for the land that was taken was far below fair market value (Wishart 1990, 1994).

Following World War II, Congress set up the Indian Claims Commission to resolve the various land claims made by American Indian tribes that had not been dealt with by the U.S. Claims Court. According to many of the people interviewed and written materials assessed during the Life of the Commission (1946-1978), the practice of the federal government to pay off claims in cash rather than in kind (i.e., in the form of land) was a major factor in impoverishment of Native American communities, and it contributed to a loss of a sense of place and social well-being for a number of tribes. Some tribes never accepted the federal government's offers of cash compensation; this was the case, for example, with the Lakota, who refused to take the cash offered for the Black Hills in South Dakota (Mathiessen 1984; Lazarus 1991). The problems facing American Indians today have brought about greater awareness of the urgent need to address questions relating to land tenure, land use, and natural resource management.

American Indian communities in the NIMI area and the northern Plains generally experienced a loss of land and resource access over time, in part because of both government and private development and conservation efforts. Water development projects had significant effects on the indigenous peoples of the northern Plains, especially those along the Missouri itself (Lawson 1982;

284 Franklin et al. 1994:92-95). Early developments along the Missouri
285 River were aimed at improving its navigability for barge traffic
286 and not primarily for flood control. American Indians and later,
287 European settlers, who had homes and fields close to the river lost
288 them periodically when the Missouri overflowed its banks. As
289 population grew in the region, the desire for flood control
290 increased as a means of preventing property destruction and
291 enhancing the movement of goods.

292 In the early part of the twentieth century it was decided that
293 a series of dams along the upper Missouri would solve many of the
294 problems faced by people along the river as well as those
295 downstream. The dams and associated facilities were to have several
296 benefits, including flood control, improved navigation, irrigation,
297 hydroelectric power, recreation, and resource conservation (Lawson
298 1982). The Pick-Sloan Plan, the joint water development program
299 that was drawn up by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the
300 Bureau of Reclamation for the Missouri River Basin, was authorized
301 by Congress in 1944. This development program had major effects on
302 the ecology of the region, and as Lawson (1982:xxix) notes, it
303 "caused more damage to Indian lands than any other public works
304 project in America." The dams in the Pick-Sloan program flooded
305 the rich bottomlands of much of the upper Missouri, resulting in
306 the loss of wildlife habitat, timber, and other valuable resources,
307 and causing the relocation of substantial numbers of people (Lawson
308 1982). The ponding effect of the dams has altered the movement of
309 silt, reducing agricultural fertility in the region. At the same
310 time, increased water turbidity has reduced the viability of some
311 of the river's fish populations. Vegetation along the river, so
312 important to wildlife and to livestock seeking shade, was inundated
313 or was affected negatively by the fluctuations of the newly created
314 reservoirs. The erosion of the riverbanks, which was accelerated
315 by the creation of the dams, has had major impacts on agricultural
316 land, as well as on cultural resources, including important
317 archeological sites (Ebert et al. 1989).

318 The dams along the Missouri that were built as part of the
319 Pick-Sloan Plan destroyed over 550 square miles of Indian land in
320 North and South Dakota and dislocated more than 900 American Indian
321 families. Like most water development projects, the Missouri dams
322 had negative effects on both local people and the environment (see
323 Table 31-2 for a summary of the effects of the five multipurpose
324 dams along the Missouri, with comparative information drawn from
325 other cases of water projects that had impacts on indigenous
326 peoples). Two of the tribes in the NIMI area, the Santees and the
327 Yanktons, were directly affected by the Fort Randall and Gavins
328 Point dams. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are
329 concerned about the possibility of additional land being declared
330 off-limits and people potentially being relocated as a result of
331 further actions by the federal government.

332 Resettlement because of water resource development projects

333 has had significant effects on the Sioux and the Three Affiliated
334 Tribes (Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa). There are concerns that
335 changes in the land tenure status of the Niobrara and Missouri
336 river areas will result in native people losing additional assets.
337 Although the Yanktons and Santees were never relocated from their
338 lands in South Dakota and Nebraska, they and the Poncas are aware
339 that the compensation payments for the previous federal projects
340 along the Missouri were less than adequate in most cases. For
341 example, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe recently sought and received
342 legislative redress for the impacts of the Oahe Dam project. The
343 Tribe received \$90,600,000 as additional cash compensation under
344 Title XXV of the Reclamation Projects Authorization and Adjustment
345 Act of 1992 (Public Law 102-575) along with a 2,380-acre irrigated
346 area on the reservation and nearly \$5,000,000 to develop it.
347 Reestablishment of tribal jurisdiction over much of the land in the
348 Oahe project area on the Standing Rock reservation that had been
349 "taken" by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for creation of the
350 reservoir, is also under consideration (Lawson 1993:xx-xxi) [---NIRC
351 or 1982?]. These gains are heartening for the other tribes along
352 the Missouri who feel that their rights have been infringed upon by
353 the establishment of the dams.

354 A major issue that arose during the course of implementation
355 of the water projects along the Missouri was that of water rights
356 (Lawson 1982:45-45). Ever since the propounding of the Winters
357 Doctrine in 1907 in the case of *Winters vs. United States*, American
358 Indians have had the right to use water flowing through their areas
359 for their own purposes. The basic principle was that Native
360 Americans had a right to all the water they could put to
361 "reasonable use," and non-Indians could use the surplus waters, if
362 any, not required by the Native Americans (Hundley 1985:95-96; see
363 also Morris 1985; McCool 1987; Burton 1991). Native Americans,
364 including the Poncas, Santees, and Yanktons, maintain that they
365 have the right to use waters for any purpose they see as
366 significant, including fishing, irrigation, recreation, and
367 tourism. The problem in the case of the Pick-Sloan Plan was that
368 the government took away Native American water rights without their
369 consent and generally without having consulted them beforehand.

370 Another, related issue is that of residual treaty rights to
371 regulate not only water use, but also hunting and fishing on
372 reservation and former reservation lands. The two tribes that have
373 a substantial land base at present--the Yanktons and the Santees--
374 have tribal officials charged with the management of game and other
375 natural resources (it is possible that the Poncas will in time also
376 have similar officials, as the tribe acquires more land). Treaties
377 that created reservations typically gave the Native American
378 inhabitants of these reservations the right to regulate hunting and
379 fishing activities within reservation boundaries. The Yanktons and
380 the Santees exercise this right within their reservations. The
381 Poncas, although terminated as a federally-recognized tribe in the
382 1960s and lacking a reservation at present, once had an extensive

reservation in the heart of the NIMI area. Termination of the tribe's federal recognition did not abrogate the treaties which the U.S. government made with the Poncas in the nineteenth century, which means that the Poncas still retain residual treaty rights to regulate hunting and fishing on the lands of their former reservation. Although they do not exercise this right at present, this may become an important jurisdictional issue in the future.

The Pick-Sloan Plan experience and the residual treaty rights issue serve to reinforce the need for special attention to be paid to careful Native American consultation and participation in decision-making about development planning that has the potential to affect the present and former land base of native peoples in the NIMI region.

CONSULTATION AND PARTICIPATION

The issues of community empowerment and local participation in rural development and conservation projects are receiving more and more attention from researchers and development organizations (Midgley 1986; Paul 1987; Kiss 1990; Cernea 1991; Associates in Rural Development 1992). Participatory development has become a catchphrase for the kind of approach that many agencies and policy analysts are advocating. Various means of bringing about local participation have been suggested, including provision of training and education (investment in human resources) and assuring that local people have control over their own land and natural resources.

Two areas where the community empowerment and participatory development approaches of the agencies working in the NIMI area differ from that of other models are 1) the degree to which local communities have been able to exert control over land and the full array of natural resources, and 2) the types of institutions that serve as the focal points for development activities.

Local people have participated in NIMI planning activities to a large extent. Local landowners and businessmen, as well as representatives of local governments, an environmental organization, and one of the three American Indian tribes resident in the area, hold seats on the NIMI advisory commission at present. The 1991 law which authorized much of NIMI (P.L. 102-50) directs the establishment of an advisory group known as the Niobrara Scenic River Advisory Commission. This body is comprised of 11 members appointed by the Secretary of the Interior; presently, the members are six local landowners, one canoe outfitter, one person selected by the Governor of Nebraska, two from affected county governments or natural resource districts, and one from a conservation organization (the Nature Conservancy). In addition, two planning teams exist (one for the Niobrara and one for the Missouri portions of NIMI), comprised of National Park Service personnel, state and local governmental representatives, local landowners, and tribal

431 representatives.

432 The participation of local people in these planning and
433 advisory bodies provides a excellent foundation for generating
434 local participation in the NIMI planning effort. However,
435 representation of the three NIMI residential Native American tribes
436 on the advisory commission is uneven at present. Only the Santee
437 Tribe of Nebraska is represented on the advisory commission at
438 present. The Yanktons formerly had a representative on the
439 commission but are not represented at present, and the Poncas have
440 never had a seat on the commission (or either of the planning
441 teams). In the interest of furthering government-to-government
442 relations with these tribes, as required by Secretarial and
443 Presidential directives (see Chapter 2), it would be advisable to
444 consider expanding Native American representation on the commission
445 to include all three of the NIMI residential tribes.

446 As was noted in Chapter 30, the Poncas, Yanktons, and Santees
447 were not informed beforehand of the proposed declaration of the
448 Niobrara and Missouri as part of the Wild and Scenic River system.
449 Since then, the degree to which Native Americans have been involved
450 with the NIMI planning process has increased markedly. Appointment
451 of Yankton and Ponca representatives, plus formal direct contacts
452 with the governments of all three tribes, would considerably
453 enhance the effectiveness of communication between the National
454 Park Service and the the Ponca, Santee, and Yankton residents of
455 the NIMI area.

456 Federal land already exists in the NIMI area in the form of
457 the Fort Niobrara National Wildlife Refuge (19,122 acres) and the
458 Valentine National Wildlife Refuge (71,500 acres), both of which
459 are under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.
460 The Forest Service in the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA)
461 manages the McKelvie division of the Nebraska National Forest
462 (116,000 acres). The Bureau of Land Management has a relatively
463 small parcel of land in the Niobrara area (280 acres), most of
464 which has been leased out to private users, one of them the Nature
465 Conservancy. The Nature Conservancy owns the 54,500-acre Niobrara
466 Valley Preserve, which is used for resource preservation,
467 environmental education, and ecological research.

468 The State of Nebraska has 12,791 acres of school trust land in
469 the area which is leased out for grazing. The Nebraska Game and
470 Parks Commission oversees Smith Falls State Park adjacent to the
471 Niobrara River (244 acres) and Niobrara State Park at the mouth of
472 the Niobrara where it runs into the Missouri. The Middle Niobrara
473 Natural Resource District has a two-acre plot of land at Brewer
474 Bridge which is managed for recreational purposes. There are also
475 plans for recreational trails in the area, including one along U.S.
476 Highway 20 that will be used for the "Cowboy Trail" (Nebraska
477 Energy Office and Nebraska Department of Economic Development 1994;
478 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver

479 Service Center 1995:50-51).

480 Given that there is already a fairly sizable amount of public-
481 use land in federal, state, and private hands, a logical concern of
482 the Native Americans in the NIMI area (as well as non-Indian
483 residents of the region) is the possibility of additional land
484 being taken over for public purposes. While many Native American
485 in the area agree that the land should be managed and protected,
486 they feel that they themselves are capable of taking care of the
487 resources. They would like to see lands along the Missouri River
488 be managed by natural processes, such as natural flooding which
489 would provide the floodplain with nutrients and have beneficial
490 effects for the riverine vegetation, fish, and wildlife. In
491 general, many Native American and non-Indian residents of the NIMI
492 region would also like to see greater efforts devoted to ecological
493 restoration in the Missouri and Niobrara river areas.

494 Many of the significant Native American archeological and
495 historical sites in the NIMI area are located close to the rivers,
496 particularly the Missouri. Many Native Americans in the NIMI
497 region would like to see greater protection of those sites, which
498 they would prefer be off-limits to tourists and other visitors.
499 They believe that while the benefits of cultural tourism and
500 ecotourism are potentially significant, they would like to have
501 greater control over the actions of tourists in their areas.

502 The concept of participation is one that is not easy to
503 define. It can mean the right to make decisions about development
504 action. Participation can also mean the process whereby local
505 communities take part in defining their own needs and coming up
506 with solutions to meet those needs. In addition, participation can
507 refer to situations in which local communities and individuals
508 share in the benefits from development projects and are fully
509 involved in generating those benefits. As Chambers (1983:140)
510 notes, "Rural development can be redefined to include enabling poor
511 rural women and men to demand and control more of the benefits of
512 development."

513 It is important to remember that the degree of willingness of
514 individuals to take part in development action and to take
515 responsibility for decision-making often varies tremendously not
516 only within specific areas but frequently within the same community
517 and the same household. In order to determine the various goals
518 and objectives of local people, concerted efforts should be made to
519 collect information and seek feedback at the local level. What
520 this means is that an investigatory program must be built into all
521 conservation and development projects and policies. It also means
522 that continuous monitoring and consultation has to be done during
523 the course of project identification, design, implementation, and
524 evaluation. If it is found that local people do not agree with the
525 ways in which the projects are designed or being put into practice,
526 then changes or new approaches should be considered.

527 Some governments and non-government organizations have
528 developed what they term a participative extension approach to
529 rural development (e.g., the Boscosa Project of the Conservation
530 Foundation and World Wildlife Fund on the Osa Peninsula in Costa
531 Rica; see Wells and Brandon 1992:88-91). This kind of approach
532 places emphasis on community involvement in all aspects of project
533 design and execution. In some instances, this strategy results in
534 the formation of local organizations (e.g., farmers associations or
535 women's multi-purpose development groups). It also contributes to
536 situations in which efforts are made to provide local communities
537 with rights over land, water, and other resources. Agroforestry
538 projects, for example, are being done more and more at the
539 household level, and tenure rights are being defined in such a way
540 that individuals and groups have *de jure* (legal) rights rather than
541 simply *de facto* control over the resources, which is potentially
542 insecure.

543 One strategy taken by the National Park Service to promote
544 public involvement in NIMI has been to appoint local people to NIMI
545 planning and advisory bodies. By having these people at the
546 "grassroots" level of planning, it has been possible for trust to
547 be built up and for detailed knowledge about local situations to be
548 considered in the planning process. These individuals have
549 effectively served as facilitators, advisors, and information-
550 disseminators. These individuals often serve as a link between
551 community organizations and outside agencies. In this capacity,
552 they have provided a kind of communication function.

553 Other forms of public outreach used by NIMI staff to increase
554 public participation in the planning effort have included public
555 meetings and public review of planning documents. Efforts to use
556 these approaches to obtain greater feedback from local American
557 Indian populations could be increased (see the discussion of
558 recommendations below).

559 Another strategy of empowerment and promotion of participation
560 that is often employed is institution-building or institution-
561 strengthening. Most, if not all, local communities have formal or
562 informal associations of people who have common interests and/or
563 who cooperate on various tasks. These institutions can be used as
564 the basis for promoting development at the community level
565 (Chambers 1983; Cernea 1991; Durning 1992). In the case of Native
566 Americans who reside in and near NIMI, the most appropriate
567 institution to deal with in NIMI planning and development is the
568 tribal governments of the Poncas, Yanktons, and Santees.

569 It has sometimes been said that local elites or extant
570 authority structures often get in the way of participatory
571 development. One way of getting around this problem is to consult
572 local leaders, representatives of local institutions, and other
573 people at all phases of project identification, formulation,
574 planning, and implementation. Such a strategy ensures that both

575 communities and development organizations can obtain needed data
576 and feedback.

577 The building of capacity for local decision-making can be done
578 in a number of ways. It can be brought about through the holding
579 of workshops or community discussion sessions in which ideas about
580 democratic processes of public policy formation are addressed. It
581 can be promoted through training of various kinds (e.g., in how to
582 form committees, draw up constitutions, and run meetings). It can
583 also be facilitated through problem-solving exercises, case
584 studies, and role plays about situations in which communities find
585 themselves. These kinds of strategies have been very effective in
586 Central and South American rural communities, among womens' groups
587 in Africa, and among farmers' associations in Asia (Cernea 1991;
588 Associates in Rural Development 1992; Durning 1992). Considerable
589 effort has been made in discussing the status of NIMI planning at
590 public meetings and other public fora, though more advantage could
591 be taken in the future of other forms of bolstering community
592 involvement in NIMI decision-making, such as the formal workshops
593 and training sessions mentioned above.

594 There are relatively few examples of truly participatory
595 development and community empowerment programs and projects in
596 which local people have been fully involved in processes of change.
597 One reason for this situation is that often development projects
598 have short life spans, whereas institutional development and
599 community empowerment require long periods of time and a great deal
600 of patience. Another reason is that often the development or
601 conservation programs being advocated do not lay the groundwork
602 necessary to ensure that the local people have a stake in the
603 projects.

604 Another issue is that easily definable project outputs such as
605 infrastructure construction or agricultural yield increases are
606 given preference over less precisely quantifiable indicators such
607 as institutional strength and resource management capacity.
608 Finally, greater emphasis, funding, and technical support
609 frequently are given to outside agencies (e.g., contractors, non-
610 government organizations) than to community-based organizations
611 (CBOs). If local communities are to be empowered and participatory
612 development actually carried out, then there will have to be a
613 significant change in the way that development agencies, donors,
614 and voluntary organizations deal with local people and their
615 concerns. In order to achieve Native American participatory
616 development and planning for NIMI, it is critical that discussions
617 with tribal governments, tribal representatives, and other local
618 native Americans be viewed as open and frank, with no hidden
619 agendas or predetermined decisions perceived by locals as being
620 promoted by the National Park Service. Discussions should be kept
621 low-key and on as much of a one-to-one basis as possible in order
622 to gain the confidence of individuals and prevent them from feeling
623 overwhelmed by the formality or size of the Service's presence.

624 It has become a truism that the success of many conservation
625 and development projects is contingent on direct and indirect
626 participation and support from local people who theoretically are
627 often supposed to be beneficiaries. In some cases, implementing
628 agencies take a "top-down" approach in which local people are not
629 consulted before, during, or after the implementation of the
630 project. In other cases, people may be asked whether they agree
631 with project goals, but they do not have any say in the ways in
632 which the project is implemented. The most effective development
633 projects are those which incorporate local people in decision-
634 making at every stage of the development process. Consultation
635 alone, however, is insufficient. Local people must play a role in
636 the identification of problems and constraints; they must assist in
637 designing interventions to address those factors; and they must be
638 part of the management of whatever programs or projects that are
639 established. It is important for the success of NIMI planning
640 efforts that local American Indian and non-Indian people perceive
641 themselves as having the ability to influence the course of NIMI
642 planning by participating in advisory and planning bodies and
643 public meetings, and not merely being asked to approve of planning
644 decisions already made by the National Park Service or promoted by
645 other non-local organizations that may have an interest in NIMI.

646 NATIONAL PARKS AND RESERVES, LAND ISSUES, AND THE NIMI REGION

647 An important issue identified during the course of this
648 investigation is that of the future status of the land in and
649 adjacent to the NIMI region. We believe that the Poncas, Santees,
650 and Yankton Sioux all feel that the federal government is required
651 to consult with them about all actions on land, economic
652 development, and natural resource conservation and exploitation
653 issues that may affect the interest of the tribes. Because of the
654 special relationship that exists between American Indian tribes and
655 the U.S. government, they see themselves as more than simply
656 another land holding group or set of stakeholders in the NIMI
657 region.

658 The question of who controls the land has long been of
659 tremendous concern to American Indian peoples in the northern
660 Plains and throughout the United States (Olson and Wilson 1984;
661 Sutton 1986; Olson 1990; McDonnell 1991; Wunder 1994). Because of
662 the reality of historical precedent, Native Americans are generally
663 concerned about the possibility of the federal government taking
664 over tribal land. In the case of NIMI, a particular issue is
665 whether the National Park Service has the right to take away tribal
666 land for purposes of establishing a national park, an action which
667 would be tantamount to abridgement of tribal sovereignty. On the
668 basis of a solicitor's opinion on this question (see Chapter 30),
669 it appears that the National Park Service as a federal agency can
670 not declare tribal land as park land, which likely means that the
671 Service must seek tribal concurrence before any changes could be
672 made in land zoning and use.

673 The powers of tribal government are issues of significant
674 concern to Native American communities not only in the northern
675 Great Plains but in the United States as a whole (O'Brien 1989).
676 Tribal control of land and the management of natural resources on
677 Native American land are particularly crucial areas in the eyes of
678 many tribal governments and members of Native American communities,
679 including those in the NIMI area. The Santees Sioux acquired
680 nearly 4,000 acres of land in Knox County, Nebraska and in 1992
681 along with the Winnebagos sought a \$414,000 Farmers Home
682 Administration (FmHA) loan to acquire additional land. One of the
683 reasons for the Santees' wanting additional land is for grazing
684 purposes since the Santees have a herd of several hundred cattle.
685 Land acquisition is also a major objective of the Poncas, who have
686 acquired some 160 acres since they were restored in 1990 and are
687 actively purchasing additional land purchases.

688 The participatory development and community empowerment models
689 that are most effective are those which not only promote the
690 involvement of local people in decision-making but which also
691 ensure that those people have control over their own resources and
692 receive direct economic benefits. This kind of approach is
693 advocated relatively frequently but rarely put into place in an
694 effective way. As a consequence, many local communities remain
695 dependent, at least to some extent, on external assistance in the
696 form of funding or technical expertise. Few communities have
697 complete control over all of their resources, in part because most
698 states retain the rights to valuable assets such as minerals and
699 timber or cede over those rights to private companies in exchange
700 for a portion of the profits.

701 Many of the environmental projects in and adjacent to national
702 parks and reserves that have been initiated have done relatively
703 little in terms of providing employment and income-generating
704 opportunities for local people (see Table 31-3). They typically do
705 even less in the area of providing access to management-level
706 positions in the projects and the agencies involved in implementing
707 them. There are relatively few examples of projects in which
708 management authority has been ceded over target areas by government
709 agencies to non-government organizations or other kinds of
710 agencies. As a result, there is concern among many people about
711 the degree to which they will benefit from the establishment of a
712 national park in the area where they live (Anderson and Grove 1987;
713 West and Brechin 1991).

714 There would be a number of potential benefits to NIMI-area
715 residents from having greater protection of resources and increased
716 numbers of tourists in the area. Establishment of a national park
717 in the region could have some obvious benefits, especially if the
718 park was run in such a way that people continued to have access to
719 resources and were able to play a significant role in park
720 decision-making and management. The recently-enacted tribal Self-
721 Governance Act (see Chapter 2) offers the potential for the U.S.

government and the Native American tribal governments in the NIMI area to establish co-management arrangements that would involve Poncas, Santees, and Yanktons as full-fledged participants in land and resource management activities in the NIMI region.

Tourism

New forms of culturally and environmentally sensitive ecotourism could have positive impacts on local economies and on the scenic river area, similar to the successful tourism activities of Southern Utes in southwestern Colorado and the Navajos in northeastern Arizona. Establishment of NIMI could result in greater emphasis on ecotourism or cultural tourism, but planning in this area should be carefully consulted with the three tribal government so that they have a say about how that tourism is managed. The Yanktons are reaping economic benefits from their gaming casino and marina on the Fort Randall reservoir, but do not desire an increase in tourism on their reservation land that borders the Missouri River below Fort Randall Dam. While the Santees are seeking the cooperation of the State of Nebraska to establish a gaming casino on their reservation, which could potentially boost tourist visitation to the reservation, they do not promote tourism and do not wish tourist visitation to increase to present. In general, they see little benefit to the tribe from increased tourism. Tourism promotion would probably generate additional employment for tribal members in low-income, service-sector jobs, but would not provide inducement for the tribe's youth to attain educational goals that would be of greater benefit to the tribe over the long term. Construction of the Niobrara-to-Springfield bridge over the Missouri--long planned but underfunded at present--would be an important factor in promoting tourism in the general NIMI region.

Tourism has been recommended as a strategy for sustainable development by numerous governments and international development agencies (Boo 1990, 1992; Smith and Eadington 1992). According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), greater emphasis is being placed on "responsible tourism," recreational activities which pose little threat to the habitats or the societies that are visited. This kind of tourism is supposed to be designed in such a way that it actually enhances the quality of life for the hosts while providing educational benefits to the guests (Smith 1989).

Smith (1989:3) notes that tourism can be a significant factor in bringing about cultural change. This is particularly true of what Smith (1989:2) defines as "ethnic tourism," visits paid to traditional or indigenous populations. While tourism may provide income and employment opportunities for local people, it can also cause social difficulties.

Ethnic tourism poses a number of dilemmas for local people. On the one hand, they have the opportunity to get jobs and generate

769 some cash. On the other hand, tourists sometimes interfere with
770 local peoples' daily activities and can seriously disrupt local
771 lifestyles over the long term.

772 A frequent problem for many Native Americans and other
773 indigenous groups is that tourists are not always aware of
774 appropriate ways to behave. They take pictures of dances and
775 ceremonies when they are not supposed to, and they walk on sites
776 that local people consider sacred. Ethnic tourists often come in
777 to remote areas with preconceived notions of what to expect. Not
778 always finding what they hoped for, they occasionally resort to
779 bullying tactics.

780 If tourism is likely to increase in the NIMI region because of
781 the establishment of NIMI, the Native American tribal governments
782 and communities in the region should be carefully consulted so that
783 they can have extensive input into any planning and decision-making
784 about recreation and tourism on and near their lands. If tourism
785 development is to be initiated which may affect tribal jurisdiction
786 over tribal land or tribal members, there needs to be much more
787 intensive ethnographic field work done to document and map out the
788 various traditional and contemporary uses of land and resources on
789 reservation land, trust land, private land, and on the public
790 domain. Collective Ponca knowledge about places of traditional and
791 religious importance in the NIMI region is particularly subject to
792 change because of the fact that the Poncas were once displaced from
793 the region. With the recent symbolic reunification of the northern
794 and southern segments of the tribe, and increasing return to the
795 area by tribal members who are dispersed throughout the United
796 States, it is highly likely that individual tribal members will be
797 able to identify places of historical, traditional, and religious
798 importance. As many, if not most, of these will occur on non-
799 Indian-owned land (for the simple reason that there is so little
800 tribal land at present), they should be taken into consideration
801 for NIMI planning efforts as they become collective knowledge.

802 It must be kept in mind that there is a tremendous diversity
803 in opinions about tourism at the individual, group, and sectoral
804 level in the NIMI area. Some of the outfitters in Valentine are
805 anxious to see tourism expand. Others are more cautious, believing
806 that a rapid rise in tourism could have negative effects, including
807 greater pollution and overexploitation of riverine resources. The
808 Yanktons would like to see tourism increase for their Fort Randall
809 Casino and for their new marina and resort on the reservoir, but
810 they would prefer not to have tourism expand along the Missouri
811 River itself. One reason for this position is that many of the
812 culturally significant sites of the Yanktons (as well as the Poncas
813 and Santees) are close to the Missouri, and they would prefer that
814 these sites not be visited by outsiders or affected by the
815 construction of campgrounds, marinas, and other facilities. The
816 Santees would prefer not to have tourism development on or adjacent
817 to their reservation, although this situation is somewhat fluid

818 because of their efforts to develop a gaming casino on the
819 reservation in the future.

820 The Poncas have expressed a desire to establish a cultural
821 museum and perhaps a kind of living history exposition, and they,
822 too, desire the protection of Ponca sites. Development and
823 promotion of a Ponca heritage center would appear to offer the
824 potential for a cooperative partnership between the tribe and the
825 National Park Service. The Service possesses considerable
826 expertise in planning interpretive facilities and exhibitry, and a
827 cooperative precedent has already been established through a recent
828 National Park Service tribal historic preservation grant to the
829 tribe for the purpose of reroofing the Ponca Self-help Community
830 Building near Niobrara.

831 The economic and environmental impacts of tourism have been
832 considered in detail both by the Department of the Interior and
833 other agencies and organizations involved in promoting conservation
834 and development (McNeely and Miller 1984; U.S. Department of the
835 Interior, National Park Service 1988; U.S. National Park Service
836 and Colorado Historical Society 1989; Munasinghe and McNeely 1994).
837 The federal government and other agencies are well aware of the
838 dictum noted by Boo (1990:30) that "Tourism destroys tourism" and
839 are deeply committed to coming up with management systems that both
840 protect the resource base and enhance the social and economic well-
841 being of people using park and buffer zone areas. Trying to meet
842 the needs of visitors, local people, tribal interests,
843 concessionaires, personnel working for government agencies,
844 environmental groups, and other institutions and individuals is by
845 no means easy, and the National Park Service is intent on coming up
846 with equitable and beneficial policies and programs. One way to do
847 this is to establish zoning, land management, and administrative
848 systems that are both adaptable and highly responsive to public
849 opinion.

850 *Buffalo Ranching*

851 Considerable research has been done in the past two decades on
852 indigenous methods of natural resource management (Williams and
853 Hunn 1979; Vescey [or Vescey?] and Venables 1980; McCay and Acheson
854 1987; Oldfield and Alcorn 1991 [or 1992?]; Klee 1990 [or 1980?];
855 Durning 1992). As O'Brien (1989:221) notes, "conservation and
856 environmental protection lies at the heart of Indian culture."
857 Virtually all of the American Indian tribes in the northern Plains
858 oversee their own natural resources, and most, if not all, have
859 natural resource departments that administer fishing, hunting, and
860 other types of resource use activities.

861 Game management, afforestation, and grazing management
862 programs are being considered by the Santees and the Yanktons, and
863 the Poncas are considering assessing the resources in the area over
864 which they had control in the past (i.e., their former reservation

land). Many northern Plains tribes are in the process of setting standards and working out quotas for resource use. They are also considering carefully some of the lessons learned from other Native American communities about mineral resource use and management (for some of these lessons, see Ambler 1990).

One area of particular interest to many Plains Indian tribes is wildlife management, including the reintroduction of the buffalo (*Bison bison*). Buffalo, which once numbered in the millions throughout the vast Plains region of North America, have a special significance and deep importance to all of the American Indian tribes who once lived in the Plains, and particularly to those who still reside there. Buffalo have been the source of sustenance and spiritual power to Native Americans for thousands of years. Currently there are 140,000 buffalo in North America, up from as few as 3,000 at the turn of the century (Hodgson 1994). As was mentioned previously, buffalo were a crucial part of the economies and belief systems of northern Plains Indians (McHugh 1972; Foster, Harrison, and McLaren 1992; Simonelli 1993). According to Lakota informants, if you eat buffalo meat after having made the appropriate ritual sacrifices, you get a kind of spiritual power which heals the body and the spirit. Buffalo are also seen as a way of counteracting contemporary Native American dietary and health problems (Simonelli 1993; Hodgson 1994).

While the raising of buffalo is not an important economic consideration for the three NEMI residential tribes for reasons that are explained below, buffalo ranching could become important in the future as other tribal and intertribal bison-raising ventures succeed elsewhere.

The value of buffalo is wide-ranging. Buffalo can be raised in low rainfall areas with little water input. They also tend to have less of a negative effect on the range than do domestic livestock. One reason for this is that generally they tend to be less tied to specific localities and thus have lower degrees of impact on the vegetation and the soils.

In addition to their increasing economic value as a commercially-harvested food, buffalo are also a major tourist attraction and potential income generator. Buffalo are favored tourist photographic objects at Custer State Park and Wind Cave National Park in the Black Hills of South Dakota and at the Fort Niobrara National Wildlife Refuge near Valentine in Nebraska. There are over 4,000 buffalo in Yellowstone National Park, in an area of 2.2 million acres. Many of the tourists who visit Yellowstone indicate that part of their reasoning for visiting the park was to see wildlife. Similar kinds of statements are often made by people visiting national parks and reserves in other parts of the world, as well (West and Brechin 1991; Munasinghe and McNeely 1994; Munasinghe and Cruz 1995).

912 It must be kept in mind that buffalo also have some
913 disadvantages. First, there is the safety factor for people either
914 working with or viewing buffalo. Buffalos can run over 30 miles an
915 hour, and large bulls weigh over a ton. Since 1983, some 50
916 tourists have been gored, two of them fatally. They have been
917 known to overeat if there is too much food around (e.g., if they
918 are placed in an alfalfa field or have access to a bin of food).
919 One problem for game ranchers is that in some areas the numbers of
920 animals have exceeded local carrying capacity, requiring culling
921 excess animals from the herd or selling them to private game
922 ranchers. Buffalo are also a source of disease, including
923 brucellosis which causes domestic livestock to abort spontaneously.
924 It is the disease factor which is of concern to ranchers in the
925 vicinity of parks and wildlife reserves. Another of the problems
926 in game ranching is that rising costs will drive the smaller
927 producers out of the market, something that is a concern for many
928 of the family farmers in northern Nebraska and southern South
929 Dakota. This could be particularly problematic for Native American
930 game ranchers, who generally lack large capital assets and have had
931 less experience in market-oriented game ranching than non-Indian
932 game ranchers. This situation is changing quickly, so some of the
933 Native American communities will be in a positive position to move
934 into large-scale production and marketing systems.

935 Nevertheless, raising buffalo is an emerging industry on the
936 Plains. Modern-day management techniques include the use of
937 fencing, drugs, and the promotion of standardization of the
938 animals. Ranchers tend to cull males, usually at about the age of
939 three when they get somewhat unruly. Systematic culling in order
940 to obtain desirable characteristics such as docility, horn-length,
941 and build could potentially have effects on genetic diversity.
942 Contemporary beef ranchers who raise buffalo tend to engage in
943 practices which include feeding them on corn and other high-protein
944 foods in order to increase their fat levels and to make them more
945 palatable to the American public's taste. There has also been a
946 tendency to use growth hormones, something which concerns some
947 members of the public in terms of potential health risks.

948 The commercial game ranching strategy aims at placing the
949 animals on fenced ranches. By concentrating the animals, a process
950 is set in motion which results in increased environmental impacts.
951 In small, fenced-in areas, there tends to be greater trampling and
952 more intensive grazing, something which creates bare soils. Bare
953 soils lead to increased surface albedo (reflectivity) which causes
954 soil temperatures to rise. Higher soil temperatures can contribute
955 to reduced local rainfall and set in motion a localized drought
956 cycle which has negative effects on the vegetation and wildlife in
957 the region. Another problem with bare soils is that they can
958 attract prairie dogs. To counteract prairie dog infestation,
959 people often set poison out, which goes into the food chain. The
960 poison can affect animals who prey on prairie dogs, including
961 coyotes, falcons, hawks, and eagles. Eagles, like the buffalo, are

962 crucial to many Native American religious beliefs. Poison also has
963 had impacts on the well-being of the black-footed ferret, which is
964 an endangered species under the Environmental Protection Act (EPA)
965 of 1973.

966 Buffalo are being reintroduced to American Indian lands for
967 cultural, economic, and nutritional purposes through the work of
968 the Inter-Tribal Bison Co-operative (ITBC), an organization
969 comprising 28 tribes at present. Fred DuBray, a Lakota who raises
970 buffalo on the Cheyenne River reservation in South Dakota, was the
971 founder of the ITBC, and Mark Heckert is currently the
972 organization's Executive Director. The ITBC wants to maintain
973 buffalo herds on open, unfenced lands, in a kind of "buffalo
974 commons." The members of the cooperative also want to ensure that
975 the animals are treated well. They do not wish to engage in animal
976 breeding which potentially could cause genetic problems.

977 The ITBC members are fully aware of the fact that virtually
978 all of the buffalo alive today are descended from 77 animals in
979 five founding herds. A century ago, the Bronx Zoo and other zoos
980 ensured that there was substantial interchange between herds.
981 Bulls were acquired from different herds, thus increasing potential
982 genetic variation. The ITBC is fully cognizant of its debt to zoos
983 and wishes to maintain close working relations with them. They are
984 familiar, for example, with the efforts of the Henry Doorly Zoo in
985 Omaha to freeze embryos and to do genetic (DNA) work on various
986 species. They appreciate the fact that tourism related to zoos
987 helped maintain the variation in the buffalo population which, in
988 turn, made it possible to reintroduce the animal to the Great
989 Plains.

990 Besides the ITBC, there are a number of other associations
991 involved with buffalo, including the National Buffalo Association
992 and the American Bison Association (ABA). The ABA, established in
993 1975, was formed to promote the production, marketing, and
994 preservation of bison. Today it has a membership of over 1,100,
995 and is the largest association in the buffalo business. These
996 organizations differ from the ITBC in several ways. First, their
997 membership is primarily non-Indian. Second, their goals tend to be
998 commercial, and most of their members employ intensive management
999 techniques. The ITBC feels that buffalo, as much as possible,
1000 should be maintained in their natural state rather than in what
1001 they perceive to be an unnatural state of fenced ranches and high
1002 amounts of inputs. ITBC members believe that herds should be
1003 culled randomly and that efforts should be made to keep aggressive
1004 animals and ones which are not necessarily physically appealing.

1005 Native Americans have reaped social benefits from the raising
1006 of buffalo as well. There is an alcohol treatment program that
1007 employs buffalo-watching among the Kalispel, an eastern Washington
1008 tribe. People who have been arrested have been required by courts
1009 to be "buffalo watchers" for 30 days after their release from

treatment centers. People do this by living in tipis in buffalo areas. Other similar buffalo-related programs teach young women how to be mothers and care for the young. These kinds of programs also teach people how to get along with one another in the face of conflict (Simonelli 1993).

In recent years, the concept of a huge "buffalo commons" or gigantic preservation area has received much discussion (Popper and Popper 1987; Knack 1990; Matthews 1991 [or 1992?]; Mann and Plummer 1993). The idea of the Buffalo Commons is to make a huge common use area, an open-range region where there will be buffalo instead of cattle and rolling plains instead of towns. If implemented along the lines recommended by the major proponents of the idea, Frank and Deborah Popper, the Buffalo Commons would be the world's largest natural and historic preservation effort, covering some 139,000 square miles (Popper and Popper 1987; Matthews 1991 [or 1992?]). Frank Popper has noted that the Buffalo Commons idea is part proposal, part metaphor, for a long-term series of land use changes and an appeal for rethinking Great Plains possibilities.

Not surprisingly, the reaction to the Buffalo Commons concept has not been very positive among residents of the Great Plains, many of whom have reacted strongly to the notion that people should be resettled out of the Plains so that it can be turned into a national park or rangeland (Matthews 1991) [or 1992?]. There was strong disagreement locally with the notion that people on the Plains were using their resources in unsustainable ways and were thus inadvertently destroying the land. The Buffalo Commons concept was opposed by Chambers of Commerce, Midwestern Governors, and by many business people. On the other hand, some Native American groups, tourism agencies, and environmental organizations have been supportive of the idea (Matthews 1991) [or 1992?].

Frank Popper argued in a Lincoln address in 1993 that

The Buffalo Commons amounts to an opportunity for Indians, through a freak of history, to be on the right side, the favorable side of national economics, in a way that truly has never happened in the history of Indian-white relations in the U.S.

It is clear that there are both proponents and opponents of the Buffalo Commons on the Great Plains. Property rights proponents argue that the ultimate result of the Buffalo Commons would be economic devastation and famine. Members of some of the tribes on the Plains believe that they already had suffered the consequences of resettlement as a result of the establishment of reservations and the dispossession that occurred over time on the Plains. Several writers have pointed to research that illuminates the negative impacts of resettlement, whether the causes of that resettlement are large infrastructure projects, establishment of

1057 national parks and game reserves, or development programs (Chambers
1058 1970; Hansen and Oliver-Smith 1982; Cernea 1988, 1991; World Bank
1059 1994).

1060 At present, the Yanktons and Santees) have little capability
1061 of re-establishing sizeable herds of buffalo on rangeland within
1062 their reservations, although they continue to hold buffalo in high
1063 regard, as do other Plains Indian tribes. They simply lack
1064 sufficient tribal land for this purpose, and the present
1065 "checkerboard" pattern of tribal, Indian, and non-Indian land
1066 ownership within their reservations do not readily permit the
1067 creation of buffalo rangeland. The Poncas do not have any
1068 reservation, and presently hold very little tribally-owned land
1069 (160 acres). However, some of the Plains tribes in North and South
1070 Dakota that do possess sufficient landbase for buffalo rangeland
1071 are actively pursuing the re-establishment of buffalo herds on
1072 their reservations, and cooperation among them has resulted in the
1073 formation of the Inter-Tribal Bison Cooperative. As their efforts
1074 continue to grow, and as the Poncas, Yanktons, and Santees continue
1075 to pursue their goal of acquiring more land, it is possible that
1076 the three NIMI-resident tribes may in the future become involved in
1077 substantial bison management programs in the NIMI region or
1078 elsewhere.

1079 INTEGRATED CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

1080 A number of government agencies, tribes, and NGOs, with the
1081 support of government environmental agencies, are engaged in
1082 promoting projects that increase local incomes and raise
1083 standards of living while also carrying out biodiversity
1084 conservation. The World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the Nature
1085 Conservancy, and other environmental organizations are involved
1086 in projects that are aimed at coming up with a balance between
1087 conservation and development. These projects, which are termed
1088 integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) or
1089 community-based natural resource management projects (CBNRMPs),
1090 are found in a wide variety of ecological zones, from tropical
1091 forests to savannas and from mountain habitats to coastal marine
1092 regions (Kiss 1990; Wells and Brandon 1992; Brown and Wyckoff-
1093 Baird 1992).

1094 Various community-based natural resource management projects
1095 are found in a variety of areas, some of them protected as
1096 national park and equivalent reserves and others which are zoned
1097 as communal or private land (Machlins [?], 1992; see References
1098 Cited] and Tichnell 1985; West and Brechin 1991; Durning 1992;
1099 Groombridge 1992 [? NRC]; World Resources Institute 1999 [? et
1100 al. 1992?]; Kemp 1993; Munasinge and McNeely 1994 [? 1995?]).
1101 There are differences in the kinds of activities that can be
1102 carried out in the different types of protected areas, depending
1103 on the kind of designation that the region has. Examples of
1104 various types of protected areas are presented in Table 31-4. It

1105 can be seen that there are a variety of types of these areas.
1106 Some of them have full protection which limits the kinds of
1107 developments that can occur there; this is the case for national
1108 parks, for example, and in the United States it is also the case
1109 for wilderness areas that are designated under the Wilderness Act
1110 of 1964 (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service
1111 1993 [---NIRCI]). There is a fair degree of uncertainty among
1112 local people about the implications of the various kinds of
1113 federal designations for protected land in the region. Judging
1114 from the diversity of opinions concerning the establishment of a
1115 national park in the NIMI area, it is clear that many people
1116 would oppose such a strategy if it limits their options in terms
1117 of land use or if it meant that they would lose land and resource
1118 access.

1119 In sum, the Santees, Poncas, and Yanktons share a concern
1120 that establishment of NIMI will pose a threat to their tribal or
1121 Native American-owned land base, as well as to their tribal
1122 sovereignty. They fear that the National Park Service will take
1123 land away from them, and/or thwart their land acquisition plans
1124 for the future, and infringe on areas they perceive as their
1125 jurisdiction. They are also concerned about the potential
1126 impacts of park establishment outside the boundaries of their
1127 land, such as the Santees' concern about possible NIMI boundaries
1128 within a half mile of their reservation boundary (see Chapter
1129 30).

1130 Some of the integrated conservation and development projects
1131 that have been implemented in various parts of the world are in
1132 protected areas, while others are located on the peripheries of
1133 these places in what are sometimes referred to as buffer zones.
1134 Buffer zone community projects have had a certain amount of
1135 success in a number of regions, including Africa, South America,
1136 and southeast Asia. Several projects are being implemented in
1137 specially designated reserve areas (e.g., extractive reserves)
1138 that allow for multiple uses such as hunting, collection of
1139 medicinal plants, firewood, and building materials, small-scale
1140 cultivation of domestic crops, and ecotourism. These projects
1141 generally are aimed at enhancing living standards of local
1142 peoples and conservation of natural resources (Brown and
1143 Wyckoff-Baird 1992; Associates for [or "in"--see References
1144 Cited] Rural Development 1992).

1145 The Management Policies of the National Park Service require
1146 that the natural, cultural, and/or recreational resources in an
1147 area be "nationally significant" in order for an area to be
1148 protected (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service
1149 1988; U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service,
1150 Denver Service Center 1995:6). The Park Service has outlined in
1151 detail the significance of the various resources in the Niobrara-
1152 Missouri Scenic Riverways region (U.S. Department of the
1153 Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center 1995).

1154 This report has concentrated primarily on the ethnographic
1155 resources, with particular emphasis on the diversity of
1156 indigenous populations that utilized the region over time.

1157 The archeological and cultural remains in the NIMI region
1158 are diverse, indicating long-term utilization for a number of
1159 different purposes, including hunting, gathering, stone material
1160 procurement, and residence (Ludwickson et al. 1981; Hartley 1983;
1161 Osborn and Vawser n.d.). Some of these sites are potentially
1162 rich in terms of the information that they can provide and merit
1163 protection. Virtually all of the American Indian communities in
1164 and adjacent to the region would like to see that the
1165 archeological sites are managed carefully, and that any decisions
1166 about research on those sites be cleared with them first. They
1167 also do not want to see sites that they consider sacred or
1168 spiritually significant harmed either by tourists or development.

1169 Given the various findings about the use of the NIMI region
1170 and the various ideas about what its potential future could be
1171 based on interviews, discussions, and consultations, some
1172 recommendations relevant to future planning are offered, as
1173 follows:

1174 Recommendation 1. The NIMI advisory commission presently has
1175 only one seat for the Santees and none for the Yanktons or the
1176 Poncas, even though the Poncas were federally restored at the
1177 time of the passage of the 1991 Niobrara Scenic River Act. The
1178 commission and the planning teams should be expanded to include
1179 representation from all three NIMI residential tribes and
1180 expanded efforts should be made to ensure that Native American
1181 views are sought from these representatives. Formal contacts
1182 with all three tribal governments should also be increased (see
1183 recommendation 2 below), and the tribal representatives on the
1184 commission/teams should be able to facilitate contacts with
1185 tribal governments.

1186 Recommendation 2. The Poncas, Santees, and Yankton Sioux should
1187 be consulted carefully prior to the initiation of revisions of
1188 land zoning, expansion of infrastructure, changes in economic
1189 development activities in the NIMI project area, and generally in
1190 all NIMI-related matters that have the potential to affect tribal
1191 interests. NIMI staff should meet frequently and regularly with
1192 the tribal governments of the Poncas, Yanktons, and Santees in
1193 order to brief them on NIMI matters, and to solicit tribal
1194 cooperation and feedback when needed. Tribal elections are held
1195 every one or two years and often result in high turnover of
1196 tribal council members (see Chapter 30), so consultation with
1197 tribal governments is a continuing necessity in order to inform
1198 newly-constituted tribal councils about the status of NIMI and to
1199 solicit their adherence to cooperative commitments that may have
1200 been made by previous councils. National Park Service officials
1201 should, however, be careful not to become involved in tribal

political affairs or appear to align with particular intratribal factions. The long-range objectives of this are to a) establish a clear government-to-government relationship with the tribes, as required by Secretarial and Presidential directives; b) expand both formal and informal contacts with tribes; and c) establish tribal confidence in the National Park Service.

Recommendation 3. Expand the number of public meetings on American Indian reservations and in areas where Native Americans reside (e.g. Niobrara, Yankton). This will increase the effort to ensure that Native American people are informed of NIMI matters, and will permit them the opportunity to provide feedback. Meetings on reservations should be held only with tribal council permission. In addition to arranging for meetings to be held by the National Park Service, it may be possible for the Service to request time on the agenda of community meetings which all three tribal councils sponsor from time to time, as well as at the Yankton general council meetings (see Chapter 30).

Recommendation 4. Continuing efforts should be made by the NIMI staff to monitor and keep abreast of the latest developments in tribal affairs, both of the three NIMI residential tribes and of Native American affairs elsewhere that may bear on NIMI. Systematic perusal of the Plains edition of *Indian Country Today* would be very useful, as would subscriptions to newspapers published by tribal communities, receipt of tribal newsletters, attendance as observers at tribal council and other meetings.

Recommendation 5. Develop targeted strategies to recruit, hire, and retain Native Americans as employees of the National Park Service and add them to the NIMI staff. Once in place, these individuals should receive equal opportunities to advance within the Park Service. As NIMI develops and staffing needs increase, upward mobility positions could be established and filled as much as possible by applicants from the Ponca, Yankton, and Santee tribes.

Recommendation 6. Continue to pursue on-going opportunities for NIMI staff to participate in cross-cultural experiences and training. Special emphasis should be placed on training in Native American world views and concepts regarding land use and stewardship. This training should have a clear direction and purpose and the curricula should have learning objectives that are reviewed periodically. Classes should be taught in community centers and not at government offices. Incentives could be offered to Park Service employees who develop multicultural skills that are of use in furthering communication with Native Americans.

Recommendation 7. Explore ways whereby tribal governments as well as non-Indian communities can have some say about the actions of tourists in the buffer zones around their lands. This

1249 would likely involve the Service to some degree as a mediator and
1250 facilitator of communication between tribal governments and their
1251 non-Indian neighbors in the NIMI region.

1252 Recommendation 8. Using appropriate Native American languages,
1253 develop bilingual videotapes on the Niobrara/Missouri Scenic
1254 Riverways such as those created for use in the Shoshone community
1255 in Wyoming. With tribal government permission, these could be
1256 circulated for viewing at reservation communities and at the
1257 Ponca Tribal Self-help Community Building. English appears to be
1258 the primary language used by the Santees and Poncas, but many of
1259 the Yanktons continue to speak the Nakota dialect. While a
1260 videotape of this type would be most useful at present only for
1261 the Yanktons, Native Americans in general have shown great
1262 interest recently in perpetuating and expanding the use of their
1263 native languages. For example, Lakota was recently declared to
1264 be the official language on the Standing Rock reservation, and
1265 many tribes are seeking to include native languages in school
1266 curricula. Consequently, the Ponca and Santee languages may come
1267 into greater use in the future.

1268 Recommendation 9. Additional efforts should be made to
1269 facilitate the protection of sacred sites in the region. Close
1270 consultation should be done with the Santees, Poncas, and
1271 Yanktons prior to making any decisions about nominating sites for
1272 the National Register of Historic Places or for tourism or other
1273 development purposes. Tribal concurrence and cooperation for
1274 such nominations should be sought, especially for properties
1275 which are tribally-owned or owned by tribal members. The
1276 information presented in Chapter 28 is based on available written
1277 sources, which often reflect incomplete or inaccurate
1278 information. With tribal government permission, ethnographic
1279 field work should be undertaken to identify and document sacred
1280 sites and other places of traditional importance to the Poncas,
1281 Yanktons, and Santees; this should be done after NIMI boundaries
1282 are defined, in order to provide a clear geographic focus for
1283 this work and to minimize the cost.

1284 Recommendation 10. Special workshops should be held with
1285 National Park Service personnel and Native Americans from the
1286 NIMI residential tribes to explore the ramifications of the
1287 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)
1288 (Public Law 101-601) and the American Indian Religious Freedom
1289 Act. Consideration should be given to the sentiments of Native
1290 Americans concerning the ways in which they would like to see
1291 sacred sites and religious freedom issues handled. The workshops
1292 thus should be highly participatory and should incorporate group
1293 discussions, problem-solving exercises, and feedback systems. An
1294 objective of these workshops could be the forging of memoranda of
1295 agreement between the tribes (individually or collectively) and
1296 the Service to spell out the procedures to be followed in the
1297 event of inadvertant discoveries of human remains on NIMI land in

1298 the future.

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31-1

Table 1. Water-Related Development Projects That Have Had Negative Impacts on Indigenous Peoples

Project	Country	Impacts
Bed Bend Dam	South Dakota	Lower Brule Sioux affected, with 14,609 acres flooded (15% of the tribe's land base) and 62 families displaced; Crow Creek Sioux lost 6,417 acres, 27 families relocated and one fourth of tribe's remaining farms inundated
Fort Randall Dam	South Dakota	flooded 22,091 acres of Yankton and Crow Creek Sioux land, dislocated 136 Indian families, loss of bottomland and forest areas, movement of BIA headquarters, communities and social service facilities moved, reduction of grazing land for people and the Tribal Livestock Enterprise of the Lower Brule Sioux; Yankton Sioux lost 3,349 acres, 19 families relocated, 1,231 acres of Rosebud Sioux land inundated
Gavins Point Dam	South Dakota	inundated portion of Santee Sioux land in Nebraska; loss of foraging and grazing resources, agricultural land
Oahe Dam	South Dakota	destroyed more Indian land than any other public works project in the U.S., Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Sioux lost 160,889 acres, including rangeland, agricultural land, timber resources, wild plant resources, wildlife habitats, movement of communities and social service facilities, 180 Cheyenne River Sioux families were resettled, as were 170 Standing Rock Sioux

Project	Country	Impacts
Garrison Dam	North Dakota	dispossession, livelihood loss reduced environmental quality, cultural disruption of the Three Affiliated Tribes (Mandan, Arikara, Hidatsa) of the Fort Berthold Reserve, loss of 152,630 acres, a quarter of the land base, 325 families relocated, 94% of agricultural land lost
Fort Peck Dam	Montana	reduction of resource access and loss of land
Yellowtail Dam	Montana	Crows lost 6,846 acres of land and had to fight in court for compensation
Painted Rock Dam	Arizona	Papago land lost and village flooded, families dislocated compensation provided late
Narmada Valley Dams Project	India	dispossession, impoverishment, beatings, and intimidation of residents, loss of agricultural land, lack of appropriate resettlement and compensation
Chico Dams	Philippines	forced relocation, non-payment of compensation, oppression of local people
Manantali Dam	Senegal	dispossession, provision of land to outsiders resulting in warfare and conflict, malaria increase
Grande Caixas Project and Tucuri Dam	Brazil	dispossession, loss of natural resources, expansion of land conflict and competition, local people impoverished
James Bay Hydroelectric Project	Canada	Cree and Inuit forced off land and loss of caribou and other wild animals, fish resources, mercury release due to land inundation

Project	Country	Impacts
Kariba Dam	Zimbabwe and Zambia	flooding of lands, 50,000 Tonga dispossessed, social and economic disruptions, health problems
Bayano Dam	Panama	80% of Kuna Indians land flooded, loss of livelihood
Batang Ai Dam	Malaysia	Iban uprooted, deforestation and loss of wildlife resources
Aswan High Dam	Egypt	increased bilharzia, loss of agricultural land, siltation, erosion, and salinization
Mahaweli Dams	Sri Lanka	30,000 Sri Lankans relocated, loss of land, livelihoods
Volta	Ghana	bilharzia, river blindness increased, 70,000 people lost resources, dispossessed
Kainji Dam	Nigeria	dispossession, fishing effects and loss of agricultural land
Batang Ai Dam	Malaysia	Iban uprooted, reduced access to resources, impoverishment
Mantaro Dam	Peru	water quality problems, loss of agricultural land
Guavio Project	Colombia	low compensation payments to local people, outmigration of people prior to project; land taken, worsened socioeconomic situation

Note: Data for this table were obtained from the following sources: Lawson, Michael L. (1982) Damned Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944-1980. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press; World Bank (1994) Resettlement and Development: The Bankwide Review of Projects Involving Involuntary Resettlement, 1986-1993. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank; Survival International, Urgent Action Bulletin, and reports of Cultural Survival, Amnesty International, the Institute for Development Anthropology, the European Development Fund, the United Nations Development Programme, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and the Bureau of Reclamation.

Taluk 31-22
Appendix ~~22~~ Organizations Involved in Sustainable Development,
Conservation, and Legal Issues Relevant to Groups in and Adjacent
to the NIMI Area

Bureau of Indian Affairs
Branch of Acknowledgement and Research
1849 C Street N.W.
Washington, DC 20240
(202) 208-3592
((202) 219-3008 (fax)

Center for Holistic Resource Management
P.O. Box 7128
Albuquerque, NM 87194
(505) 242-9272

Center for Rural Affairs
(Rural Enterprise Assistance Project, REAP)
P.O. Box 406
Walthill, NE 68067-0406
(402) 846-5428
(402) 846-5420 (fax)

First Nations Development Institute
The Stores Bulding
11917 Main Street
Fredericksburg, VA 22408
(703) 371-5615
(703) 371-3505 (fax)

International Union for the Conservation
of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN)
Avenue du Mont-Blanc CH-1196
Gland, Switzerland
phone: (022) 64-71-81

The Land Institute
2440 E. Water Well Road
Salina, KS 67401
(913) 823-5376
(913) 823-8728

Land Stewardship Project
3724 12th Ave. South
Minneapolis, MN 55407-2706
(612) 823-5221

Minwest Archaeological Center
National Park Service
100 Centennial Mall North
Room 474
Lincoln, NE 68508
(402) 437-5392

Mni Sose Intertribal Water Rights Coalition, Inc.
P.O. Box 226
516 Mt. Rushmore Rd.
Rapid City, SD 57709
(605) 343-6054
(605) 343-4722 (fax)

National Audubon Society
950 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10022
(212) 546-9100

National Park Service
Niobrara/Missouri National Scenic Riverways
P.O. Box 591
O'Neill, NE 68773 -0591
(402) 336-3976
(402) 336-3981
Native American Rights Fund (NARF)
1506 Broadway
Boulder, CO 80302
(303) 447-8760

The Nature Conservancy
1815 North Lynn St.
Arlington, VA 22209
(703) 841-4860

Rights and Resources, Inc.
2253 North Upton Street
Arlington, VA 22207
(703) 524-0092

The Rodale Institute
611 Siegfriedale Road
Kutztown, PA 19530
(215) 683-6383
(215) 683-8548 (fax)

Rosebud Reservation Enterprise Center
(loans available to small businesses)
P.O. Box 205
Mission, SD 57555
(619) 856-2955

Selfhelp Crafts of the World
704 Main Street
P.O. Box 500
Akron, PA 17501-0500
(717) 859-4971 (phone)
(717) 859-2622 (fax)

Seventh Generation Fund
P.O. Box 2550
McKinleyville, CA 95521
(707) 839-1178
(707) 839-5223 (fax)

Sierra Club
530 Bush Street
San Francisco, CA 94108
(415) 981-8634

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
401 M Street, SW
Washington, DC 20640
(202) 382-2090

U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service
Department of the Interior
Washington D.C. 20240
(202) 343-7445

World Conservation Monitoring Center
219c Huntingdon Road
Cambridge CB3 0DL
England

World Resources Institute (WRI)
1709 New York Ave. NW, Suite 700
Washington DC 20006
(202) 638-6300

Worldwatch Institute
1776 Massachusetts NW.
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 452-1999

World Wildlife Fund (WWF)
1250 Twenty-fourth St. NW
Washington DC 20037
(202) 778-9630

31-34
Table 2. National Parks and Indigenous Peoples, with Projects and Activities Aimed at Assisting Them

Project	Country	General Comments
Amboseli National Park	Kenya	some of the benefits from use of the area by tourists go to Maasai, some of whom have title to land nearby
Annapurna Conservation Area	Nepal	Nepali farmers benefit from hunting, forest product collection, use of visitor fees for local development
Chobe National Park	Botswana	a community-based natural resource management project involving buffer zone villages, including tourism, fishponds, and crafts marketing
Everglades National Park	United States (Florida)	heavy visitation to the park has economic implications for buffer zone populations, who fish and use other natural resources in the area
Exmoor National Park	England	populations reside in the park and commercial agriculture and moorland draining is done
Gates of the Arctic National Park	United States (Alaska)	Inuit groups in native corporation adjacent to the park benefit from tourism, Inuit participate in park management discussions
Gir National Park	India	Maldhari pastoralists in the wildlife graze stock and use forest resources in the adjacent wildlife sanctuary
Kafue National Park	Zambia	local fishermen in the Kafue area are involved in training and marketing of fish, crafts, and wild plants
Khao Yai National Park	Thailand	the Sup Tai Rural Development for Conservation Project is aimed at promoting conservation through education, agroforestry, tourism, loans, and agricultural extension
Maasai Mara National Park	Kenya	use of national park by pastoralists for grazing, tourism
Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA)	Tanzania	use of region's grazing resources by Maasai permitted, benefits provided from tourism

Project	Country	General Comments
Parc National des Cevennes	France	French farmers reside in and use the park which protects cultural as well as natural resources
Richtersveld National Park	South Africa	Nama groups allowed access to the park for grazing, get revenues from tourism, park receipts, employment
Rwenzoris National Park	Uganda	Bakonjo and Batoro communities excluded from the park are provided with technical assistance in the development of alternative resource use and sustainable agriculture
Uluru National Park	Australia	park is co-managed by Aborigines and Australia National Parks and Wildlife Service; Aborigines utilize resources in the area; receive tourism benefits, and jointly control tourist activities
Volcanoes National Park	Rwanda	tourism related to gorillas in the mountains; local people work as guides and guards and get a portion of the economic benefits, craft sales
Wood Buffalo National Park	Canada	local Indians can hunt and trap in the park and are involved in joint management through a wildlife advisory board; they also have rights of first refusal over park economic activities

Note: The data in this table were obtained from the following sources: McNeely, Jeffrey A., and Kenton R. Miller, eds. (1984) National Parks, Conservation and Development: The Role of Protected Areas in Sustaining Society. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press; Kenf, Elizabeth, ed. (1993) The Law of the Mother: Protecting Indigenous Peoples in Protected Areas. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books; West, Patrick C. and Steven P. Brochin, eds. (1991) Resident Peoples and National Parks: Social Dilemmas and Strategies in International Conservation. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. Wells, Michael and Katrina Brandon, with Lee Hannah (1992) Parks and People: Linking Protected Area Management with Local Communities. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, World Wildlife Fund, and United States Agency for International Development. as well as from the World Wildlife Fund, the Worldwide Fund for Nature, the World Conservation Union, the World Resources Institute, the World Conservation Monitoring Center, the United Nations Environment Program, and the U.S. National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

31-44
Table 1. Types of Protected Areas

- I. Scientific reserve/strict nature reserve. To protect nature and maintain natural processes in an undisturbed state in order to have ecologically representative examples of the natural environment available for scientific study, environmental monitoring, and education, and for the maintenance of genetic resources in a dynamic and evolutionary state.
- II. National Park. To protect outstanding natural and scenic areas of national or international significance for scientific, educational, and recreational use. These areas are relatively large natural areas not materially altered by human activity, and where commercial extractive uses are not permitted.
- III. Natural monument/natural landmark. To protect and preserve nationally significant natural features because of their special interest or unique characteristics. These are relatively small areas focused on protection of specific features.
- IV. Managed nature reserve/wildlife sanctuary. To ensure the natural conditions necessary to protect nationally significant species, groups of species, biotic communities, or physical features of the environment when these require specific human manipulation for their perpetuation. Controlled harvesting of some resources may be permitted.
- V. Protected landscape. To maintain national significant landscapes characteristic of the harmonious interaction of resident people and land while providing opportunities for public enjoyment through recreation and tourism within the normal life-style and economic activity of these areas.
- VI. Resource reserve. To protect the natural resources of the area for future designation and present or contain development activities that could affect the resource pending the establishment of objectives based upon appropriate knowledge and planning.
- VII. Natural biotic area/anthropological reserve. To foster the way of life of societies living in harmony with the environment to continue little disturbed by modern technology; resource extraction by indigenous people is conducted in a traditional manner.
- VIII. Multiple-use management area/managed reserve area. To provide for the sustained production of water, timber, wildlife, pasture, and outdoor recreation, with the conservation of nature primarily oriented to the support

of the economic activities (although specific zones can also be designated within these areas to achieve specific conservation objectives.)

- IX. Wild and Scenic River. To protect selected rivers which with their immediate environments, possess outstandingly remarkable scenic, recreational, geologic, fish and wildlife, historic, cultural, or other similar values in free-flowing condition for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations, to protect water quality of such rivers, and to fulfill other vital national conservation purposes.

Sources: McNeely et al (1990:59); National Park Service
Law: 5. Wild and Scenic Rivers (P.L. 93-279) (1968).

APPENDIX I.

Tribal constitutions for the Poncas, Yanktons, Santees, and the
Ponca Restoration Act

Constitution of the Ponca Tribe of Native Americans of
Nebraska, approved April 3, 1936

Constitution of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska, submitted
August 12, 1993 (ratified 1994)

Public Law 101-484

Amended Constitution and By-Laws of the Yankton Sioux
Tribal Business and Claims Committee, South Dakota,
approved April 24, 1963

Constitution of the Santee Sioux Tribe of the Sioux Nation
of the State of Nebraska, approved April 3, 1936

APPENDIX II.

Treaties, Executive Orders, etc.

- Treaty with the Sioux; Sept. 23, 1805 (ratified April 16, 1808) (Santees)
- Treaty with the Sioux of River St. Peter's (7 Stat. 127); July 19, 1815 (Santees)
- Treaty with the Sioux of the Lakes (7 Stat. 126); July 19, 1815 (Santees)
- Treaty with the Yankton Sioux (7 Stat. 128); July 19, 1815 (Yanktons)
- Treaty with the Sioux (7 Stat. 143); June 1, 1816 (Santees)
- Treaty with the Ponca (7 Stat. 155); June 25, 1817 (Poncas)
- Treaty with the Ponca (7 Stat. 247); June 9, 1825 (Poncas)
- Treaty with the Teton, etc., Sioux (7 Stat. 250); June 22, 1825 (Yanktons)
- Treaty with the Sioux, etc. (7 Stat. 272); August 19, 1825 (Santees)
- Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes, etc. (7 Stat. 328); July 15, 1830 (Treaty of Prairie de Chien) (Santees, Yanktons)
- Treaty with Oto, etc. (7 Stat. 524); October 15, 1836 (Santees, Yanktons)
- Treaty with the Sioux (7 Stat. 527); November 30, 1836 (Santees)
- Treaty with the Sioux (7 Stat. 538); September 29, 1837 (Santees)
- Treaty with Yankton Sioux (7 Stat. 542); Oct. 21, 1837 (Yanktons)
- Treaty with the Sioux--Mdewakanton and Wahpakoota Bands (10 Stat. 954); August 5, 1851 (Mendota Treaty) (Santees)
- Treaty with the Ponca (12 Stat. 997); March 12, 1858 (Poncas)
- Treaty with Yankton Sioux (11 Stat. 743); April 19, 1858 (Yanktons)
- Treaty with the Sioux (12 Stat. 1031); June 19, 1858 (Santees)

Senate Resolution regarding the right and title of certain bands of Sioux Indians (12 Stat. 1042); June 27, 1860 (Santees)

Treaty with the Ponca (14 Stat. 675); March 10, 1865 (Poncas)

Treaty with the Sioux Nation... (15 Stat. 635); April 29, 1868 (Ft. Laramie Treaty) (Santees, Yanktons)

Agreements and Acts to Diminish the Great Sioux Reservation:

Agreement between the United States and the Sioux for the Relinquishment of Hunting Rights in Nebraska, June 23, 1875 (Poncas)

Agreement with the Sioux of Various Tribes, 1882-1883 (Yanktons)

An Act to Divide the Great Sioux Reservation, 1889 (Poncas, Santees)

Articles of Agreement with the Yankton Sioux, 1892 (ratified 1894) (Yanktons)

Executive Orders establishing the Santee reservation in Nebraska (February 27, 1866; July 20, 1866; November 16, 1867; August 31, 1869; December 31, 1873)